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Genscher continues his tight-rope act

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Foreign Minister Genscher's latest East-West tour began with an official visit to the White House and the State Department just before he was due to visit Moscow and the Soviet leaders.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher walks the thin tight-rope that currently spans the two Big Tops in world affairs. It is hard work and he seems to have been doing it for ages.

The outlook is none too good for Bonn's and its European partners' earnest wish to see Washington and Moscow back on talking terms, especially at the nuclear disarmament conference table.

It is only three months since Mr Chernenko took over in the Kremlin. US Presidential elections are to be held in six months and there seems to be nothing doing in ties between the superpowers.

They don't even seem able to agree on who is to sign the fairly unproblematic agreement on modernisation of the "live wire" telephone link between the White House and the Kremlin.

The Russians continue to steer a wide berth of anything that might even remotely be interpreted as support for Mr Reagan in his election campaign.

For domestic reasons the US government is reluctant to embark on moves it cannot be sure the Soviet Union will honour. World affairs are at a dead end.

Bonn is gazing with growing anxiety at both East and West. The view is gloomy from a Western outpost that has been assigned the role of keeping up border traffic.

Moscow since Mr Chernenko took over seems to be even more given to its encirclement and inferiority complex of old than ever.

Washington is run by an administration the prime movers in which seek salvation in an appeal to anti-Communist emotion.

How, in this situation, is anything to get going again? Bonn would be grateful to the Americans for the slightest sign of encouragement.

Herr Genscher was in Washington partly to sound out the prospects for Bonn's hopes that President Reagan might, before the final stages of his election campaign, consider clearer signs of readiness for peace to be appropriate.

From the German viewpoint a change in the basic US understanding of the USSR seems advisable.

Herr Genscher constantly stresses that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union must be governed again by the principles of equal rights and mutual moderation agreed by President Nixon and Mr Brezhnev in 1972.

These words are aimed at Washington as much as they are at Moscow.

By no means everything is as it might be within the West either. The power disparity between America and Europe has become too firmly established.

The Europeans are upset by the increasing attention America is paying to partners of the future in Asia, an attention that is by no means limited to technological and economic considerations.



President Reagan (left) and Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher at the White House . . . looking East, looking West. (Photo: AP)

But they have only themselves to blame. The change in US foreign policy orientation is due largely to European weakness.

That is a state of affairs which cannot be changed overnight. Herr Genscher's call for a three-cornered relationship between Western Europe, North America and the Pacific is for the time being mere wishful thinking.

So is talk of strengthening the European pillar of the Western alliance, especially as it has so far been linked to an almost forgotten organisation, the WEU, without any clear idea of policy emerging.

For the moment irritation prevails in day-to-day Nato affairs. US research plans for a Star Wars scenario of anti-satellite systems in outer space have upset other members of the pact.

So has America's tendency to go it alone and reluctance, in an election year, to coordinate beforehand and for safety's sake moves relating to a pact in which the others enjoy equal rights.

Conversely, the Americans are annoyed by constant European carping, and there is growing mistrust of what is felt to be anti-American sentiment. In the eyes of a protecting power, impatience can readily be seen as ingratitude or impertinence.

That need not mean the North Atlantic pact is being allowed to go to seed. It is well realised on both sides of the Atlantic that Nato needs care and attention.

This has been evidenced by the repair bids of outgoing State Department undersecretary Eagleburger and by the policy quest of Germany's Social Democrats.

Herr Genscher was able to point out in Washington that his government has always gone to great lengths to demonstrate impeccable public loyalty to Nato and the United States, often more than it might have liked.

But the time for fine words is over. Actions are what is now needed.

A crucial factor will be whether Nato finally succeeds in being united and determined enough to draw up such convincing concepts for East-West dialogue in general and disarmament in particular that Moscow feels it has no choice but to return to the conference table.

Determination to fulfill defence commitments has been amply demonstrated by medium-range US missile deployment in Western Europe.

Greater attention must now be paid to the second leg of Nato strategy, the policy of striking a balance and seeking detente with the Warsaw Pact.

Before Herr Genscher flew to Moscow it was already clear that the Kremlin was adopting a tougher approach, due doubtless to unfulfilled hopes. Mr Gromyko is signalling that there must be no repetition of old hat.

But no matter how urgently Bonn might want to relay a new message to the Kremlin, where is it going to come by one?

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 May 1984)

IN THIS ISSUE

Why spoilsport Moscow pulled out of Olympic starting blocks

There may have been no mention of a boycott in the initial statement from Moscow, but there can no longer be any doubt that the Soviet Union is not going to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics.

A number of pretexts have been publicly stated. Other reasons can only be speculated on. Russia is clearly getting its own back on America for boycotting the Moscow Olympics in 1980.

The Soviet desire to give the United States a taste of its own medicine is enhanced by the insecurity complex that is so typical of the USSR.

Fears that Soviet athletes might not be satisfactorily kept an eye on by team officials in venues so far apart, or might even succumb to the temptation to seek asylum in the West, may well have tipped the balance in favour of the Soviet decision to boycott Los Angeles.

But the American authorities must still wonder whether they may have failed to do their utmost from the outset to cater for Soviet sensitivity and uncertainty.

General-Anzeiger

At sporting events of this magnitude no distinction can be drawn between sport and politics.

The Soviet withdrawal is not just a sporting upset; it is also a setback to hopes of maintaining ties between the superpowers.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher may have appealed in Washington for the East-West dialogue to be continued, but the Soviet government took an extremely discourteous line the previous day, saying talk of peace was merely camouflage to cover up aggressive Nato practices.

This note of irritation was apparent in the arguments by which Soviet sports officials sought to justify their Olympic boycott.

A marginal Soviet consideration may even be displeasure at the possibility of

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The Pope: trip to cement church in Asia

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The shortest air route from Rome to Korea and the Far East is via Moscow. *But Pope John Paul II preferred to* fly via Alaska to Roman Catholics in the Far East.

En route he conferred with President Reagan in Fairbanks, which will have confirmed the Soviet leaders in their rejection of religion and the Church.

The Kremlin will also probably dismiss the meeting between the head of the Catholic Church and the US President as a campaign manoeuvre by Mr Reagan.

Yet it was merely a sideline of the Pope's second round-the-world tour (the first took him to the Philippines and Japan in 1981).

There are important reasons why he goes to the trouble.

The least of them is his desire not just to run the Church from the Vatican but to see for himself the 800 million Catholics and help to redress the balance between centrifugal national churches.

The Pope is not merely keen to tour the world. Travel is proving an increasing physical strain. But he feels he has to do it if he is to carry out his job properly in the present day.

John Paul II replies with the firmness of one who knows better to those who wonder whether he isn't putting in too much travel. His sole worry is that his health might not be good enough to carry out all his plans.

The main reason for his latest round-the-world flight was to ensure a Roman Catholic presence in Asia. By visiting the continent personally he felt he could demonstrate the Church's presence more effectively than might be in keeping with the true facts.

After 400 years of missionary work in Asia not two per cent of the population is Roman Catholic.

Like the European powers, the Church failed to make real headway in the new continents after the initial age of discovery in the 16th century.

The Christian faith was exported and its seed planted in the soil of the newly-discovered civilisations, but no-one could be sure whether it would bear fruit.

So it was that the Church shared with the colonial powers the destiny of being rejected until, at the Second Vatican Council, it finally, and not too late, acknowledged the value and independence of other world religions and the emerging nations.

The Church in South Korea, which the Pope visited to mark its bicentenary, makes up a small but respected minority of five per cent of the 40m population.

It shows that Christianity is capable of taking root in Asia. The Christian message is capable of fascinating people as far afield as Asia.

It is a message of man's religious ties with God, of freedom, dignity and the inalienable rights of the individual in relation to political and economic powers.

It is a commitment of the individual to the well-being of the community without being handed over lock, stock and barrel to the state or to the collective.

It is a matter of the ecclesiastical order within which everyone can find mental backing and support: everything that seems self-evident in the West in the wake of 2,000 years of history.

For over 400 years the Vatican has been keen to impress the Chinese too, and a promising start was made by a Jesuit missionary, Fr Matteo Ricci, in the 16th century.

But progress was thwarted by too Eurocentric a view of missionary activity in the Vatican, with the concept of converting the heathen proving counter-productive.

Ever since this failure in China and despite Communist persecution of Christians there, the Church has never entirely abandoned its aim of gaining a firm foothold in China.

John Paul II even chose not to visit the Roman Catholic community in Taiwan so as not to annoy Chairman Mao's successors in Peking and, possibly, to come to terms one day on a modus vivendi for Catholics in mainland China.

Only from a narrowly European viewpoint can the Pope's further visits to Papua-New Guinea and the Solomon Islands be regarded as having been superfluous.

John Paul II found the time to visit scattered Catholic communities there, as people all over the southern hemisphere will have noted with satisfaction.

The Pope is keen to hold talks with Buddhists in Bangkok to ensure leeway for the Church as a minority community in Indo-China.

It is unlikely to increase in size there to any great extent, but prestige and influence can help to offset what it lacks in numbers.

There too the Pope faced a wider forum, the peoples of Indo-China.

There is little he can do there to help Catholics oppressed by Communist regimes.

But his appeal for greater humanity, especially toward hundreds of thousands of refugees, will not go unnoticed even though political rulers might choose to close their borders to it.

Heinz-Joachim Fischer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 May 1984)

America and China confirm the need to get along

Far from being an event of outstanding importance such as President Nixon's 1972 visit, President Reagan's Peking visit can at most be said to have reiterated and confirmed what was achieved five years ago when Washington and Peking resumed diplomatic ties.

In doing so they undertook to embark on long-term economic, technological and cultural cooperation over and above political and ideological differences.

Both have realised they must come to terms with each other.

Peking needs the symbolic radiation reflected by successful collaboration with the world's most advanced industrial power if it is to forge ahead with its economic and social reforms.

Washington has realised that a stable and predictable China that is not allied with the Soviet Union is in keeping with US objectives.

But the US government spokesman who in Peking interpreted the Chinese attitude as being support for America's global strategic objectives and disapproval merely of individual US moves was well wide of the mark.

Peking seems to be taking an increasingly critical view of America's global role in an ongoing process of reappraisal of China's position in the world in general and Asia in particular.

The Chinese this time chose not to mention the "joint responsibility" for peace and stability in the Pacific to which Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang referred in Washington last January.

They may partly have done so with a view to ensuring equal distance from Moscow and Washington, but they will also have wondered whether a responsible peace policy can possibly be jointly pursued with the present US administration.

Peking sees neither in Asia and the Pacific nor in Western Europe any alternative that could be accomplished overnight to the network of collective defence systems including the United States.

Chinese strategy experts have indicated lately that they have no real objections to a US military presence in the Philippines or even in South Korea, so long as its withdrawal might lead to Soviet advance or heightening of tension.

Yet although Peking may on this occasion choose to disregard moral arguments in assessing the two superpowers, sooner or later it will wonder why the bitterly criticised Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam is so reprehensible.

Why, after all, should a Soviet base in Vietnam be so bad when much larger US bases in Asia and the Pacific are acceptable?

Sino-American relations are still viewed by both sides mainly in cost-benefit terms, which should sound a warning note.

Difficulties over the past three years have shown that minor handicaps and day-to-day disputes, such as cotton export quotas and political asylum for a

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Chinese tennis player, can soon assume the proportion of issues of principle and do serious damage.

It came as something of a surprise to see how little attention was paid to Taiwan during President Reagan's visit. There was a modicum of propaganda rhetoric, but neither side seemed keen to raise the issue at present.

President Reagan will maintain the status quo, including the many semi-official ties with Nationalist China, not to mention slightly reduced arms supplies of which Peking is so critical.

The President even turned down Deng Xiaoping's request for Washington to exert pressure and persuasion on Taiwan to start reunification talks with the Communists.

Peking seems to have come to terms with the fact that peaceful reunification will not be a realistic prospect until social conditions and living standards have drawn much closer together in Taiwan and mainland China.

People in Taiwan must also have abandoned their staunch rejection of any idea of domination by Peking.

The new Chinese strategy seems to be to arrive at an exemplary solution by which to regain sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997 and to offer Taiwan similar autonomy terms retaining the greatest possible measure of local self-government as an incentive.

Helmut Opletal

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 May 1984)

Continued from page 1

an unloved President Reagan deriving political profit from a successful Los Angeles Olympics in his election campaign.

He may not be mentioned by name in the catalogue of Soviet accusations, but item for item he is bound to be feel meant.

At the Stockholm disarmament conference Soviet delegate Grynewski may have given an assurance that the US Presidential elections would have not the slightest effect on the conference.

But in reality the Soviet Union will do nothing that might make President Reagan's campaign more successful in any way.

Four years ago by no means all Western European countries followed the US call to boycott the Moscow Olympics in protest at the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Bonn joined the boycott as a token of solidarity such as it expects from the United States in, say, Berlin. Britain and France did not.

There is unlikely to be any such lack of solidarity in the East Bloc.

We are most unlikely to see GDR athletes win Olympic medals in Los Angeles that might otherwise have been won by their Soviet counterparts.

Rumania is the East Bloc country that is most likely not to toe the line and take part in the Olympics regardless.

The boycott will hit GDR athletes particularly hard. Sporting triumphs help East Germany, which lags behind the West in other respects, to bask in the reflected glory of at least sporting superiority over West Germany.

Olympic medals help people in the GDR to forget for a few days the tiresome shortages, the queues outside shops, the barbed wire at the border and the exodus to the West of applicants for exit permits to leave the GDR for good.

No-one would have begrudged the GDR athletes the medals they so richly deserve, especially as they still give us all-German pleasure.

But a spoilsport Moscow seems to have dashed all hopes of seeing athletes from both German states compete for Olympic honours at Los Angeles.

Hermann Eich

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 9 May 1984)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

CDU votes for amnesty on party donations tax issue

The CDU voted 473 to 178 at its party congress in Stuttgart to back plans for an amnesty on firms who have evaded tax payments on donations to political parties. The amnesty would mean that 1,800 cases of tax evasion would be dropped.

The party is no longer the party that existed under Konrad Adenauer and the party no longer has the economic optimism manifest in the person of Ludwig Erhard.

Helmut Kohl's observation: "We have the power to rule but we are not the rulers. The state does not belong to us," is not a usual attitude taken up in the CDU. The party must learn that it is not possible to shed or gamble with power.

Proposals to grant an amnesty to those who made undeclared contributions to political parties, that should have buried once and for all the donation scandals, has aroused anxiety in the party that manifestly is more acute than the party leadership would like to admit.

Franz Josef Strauss, who in the past was always given a rousing welcome was this time only greeted with polite applause. He was made to sense that his complaints endangered the government's standing. Voters have become critical and flexible, which means that politicians have to tread carefully.

Despite the veneer of confidence in the CDU there are inner concerns about the future of the economy. Is there an economic upswing and if so did it happen of its own accord? Franz Josef Strauss has been very cautious about this.

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Certainly only Ernst Albrecht was the only one to make statements along the lines that as the majority party the CDU has succeeded in solving the economic problem.

But solutions are not automatic. It is no longer enough to invoke the free market economy and demand more growth. There are many counter tendencies that have to be taken into account.

It is a fact that in endeavouring to create new jobs the structural changes involved will jeopardise hundreds of thousands of jobs.

The Union, rightly so, pursues economy policies and by consolidating the budget has achieved success at the beginning, but at the same time they have had to put up with protests from citizens because the cuts have cut too deep.

So from the party base itself the call is now to relax the savings measures

It was obvious in Stuttgart that the CDU has to face up to a number of problems at one and the same time. A reform of the tax system is long overdue as well as an easing of the tax burden on families.

On the other hand how long can the party hold out about ways and means of funding the budget. If they fail in this important point a reason for a change of power would have fallen by the wayside.

The party leadship is well aware of this but the parliamentary parties and the grass-roots grumble over Gerhard Stoltenberg's rigorous economy measures.

The CDU is no longer so unified as it used to be. This was obvious in the amnesty debate, for more than twenty per cent of delegates rejected this project.

Helmut Kohl must not, and will not, disregard this. He has received the support he wanted.

Seen from a political power point of view the Chancellor left the party conference strengthened, but morally he has been weakened.

A rift has emerged not only between young and old. Many elderly delegates fear that the intellectual-moral change Strauss so vigorously called for in Stuttgart will harm the party.

And delegates in fact regarded Heiner Geissler's background remark on the amnesty issue that the CDU had renewed itself intellectually and morally in opposition as curious to say the least.

The discussion should have been at a lofty level but opinions became bogged down in the fact that the amnesty would help not so much help those who had made small donations to political parties in good faith, but a few major donors and officials.

Those who provided the money, and not only to the CDU, must have known that what they were doing was illegal. Furthermore the amnesty will only encourage those involved once more to open their cheque books. The flow of cash has almost dried up.

Jürgen Möllemann (FDP) let the cat out of the bag. He maintained that the party organisation could not manage without donations.

It is true that the CDU is in a far better financial position than its junior partner in the coalition, but this does not alter one iota the motives that have induced the two parties to follow this course of action.

Helmut Kohl may, for the present, feel he is the victor, but does he not fear that the FDP leadership will change its mind under growing pressure? That would be the first major rift in the coalition. Then, as one delegate put it, "more would go into pieces than just this proposal."

Werner Birkenmaier

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 May 1984)

Membership up

The Christian Democratic Union has about 735,000 members and is the largest political party in West Germany.

Since 1971 the number of members has almost doubled. About a third of the membership is made up of women.

The CDU was officially founded in Goslar in 1950. Five years before, immediately after the war, the CDU's predecessor was founded as the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDUD) with regional associations in West Berlin, Cologne and Düsseldorf.

From the very beginning the party was conceived as an alternative to the SPD and the Communist Party.

In 1949 the CDUD provided the new Republic with its first Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer.

Since 1949 the CDU has worked together with the Christian Social Union. The party has a parliamentary party, a national committee and executive. The parliamentary party meets at least every two years to make decisions over the party's programme and policies. The national executive is also elected.

Helmut Kohl is the fourth CDU chancellor, after Konrad Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard and Kurt Georg Kiesinger.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 10 May 1984)



Strauss (left) and Kohl ... success and protests (Photo: Sven Simon)

Kohl maintains fund donors are not criminals

The chairmen of the union parties were in unusual harmony in Stuttgart on the question of the disputed amnesty legislation that will pardon those who have donated sums to the political parties and not paid tax.

Helmut Kohl has presented the proposition that a citizen who is prepared to assist democratic parties should not be treated as a criminal. This demand is presented with such vigour disregarding that it had enriched the donor as well. In fact the sums donated were larger than the tax advantages obtained.

Franz Josef Strauss from the sister party that is regarded with suspicion, promptly jumped into the melee.

It was obvious at Stuttgart that the two major parties, in disregard of public and internal party opposition, were not to be deflected from the amnesty legislation.

The Chancellor's authority and the balm he administered to the delegates in the form of all-pervading optimism had its effect. Warnings from Junge Union (the youth arm of the party) and the Christian Democratic Students Association could not penetrate the phalanx of the delegates standing shoulder to

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shoulder around Helmut Kohl. The vote to go ahead with the amnesty legislation was in his favour.

But not all the political hurdles have been tackled. By hook or by crook the smaller coalition party, fearfull of its future perhaps, is voicing opposition. Many liberals regard the amnesty as a manipulation of juctice, every amnesty is that, and are having second thoughts that it is against the FDP programme.

FDP chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher needs to limit the concern voiced against him in the regional party organisations. The Vice-Chancellor must ensure that at the FDP party conference he is seen to be successful in the amnesty policy.

The fate of Economic Affairs Minister Count Otto Lambsdorf hangs like a black cloud over many FDP supporters. It seems that despite the fair weather forecast at Stuttgart the Bonn coalition is in for a stormy time.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 10 May 1984)

Warning that a pardon might cost votes

Many odd things can be heard in discussions of the amnesty proposals. Many opponents of the proposed legislation warn that it will lose votes and media people agree.

But should a political party always act with an eye to the next election? A government must do what it considers is for the general good, not just that that can be expected to please voters,

In Bonn political circles it is now heard that the government should drop the amnesty because it will lose votes.

The union leadership, however, have defiantly said that it will stand by its friends and helpers. This is taken to mean when a party, no matter which party, handles illegal money. That is no argement on which to base an amnesty. Legality not gratitude must be the motives behind such a measure.

Much is said about justice. The coalition maintains that donors did not realise they were doing anything wrong. But is this consideration worth an amnesty?

It is the job of judiciars to judge individual errors. Legislation that helps those who have infringed the laws to escape justice demands a special justification.

A legal pardon of convicted persons is a special course of action to take within legal procedures. It is much more serious to suppress justice.

Arguments can be presented for the amnesty, but the coalition should not treat the matter lightly.

The coalition must also proteot itself from false words. "Innocent" citizens should not be turned into "criminals," is often heard. But every citizens is innocent before proceding to a first illegal act. What can be learned from this?

"Criminalisation" is a battle word for those who commit political acts of violance, who for the past eighteen months have disturbed the country's peace.

The impression will be given that justice is applied arbitrarily against good citzens and just happens to deal with criminals.

This deceiving word is now being used by Bonn politicians because it is useful to them. In discussions about the amnesty there should be more honesty, more sense of responsibility and more consideration of the facts.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 May 1984)

■ FLASHBACK

Annihilating the Jews: how the decisions were made

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The three-day international congress in Stuttgart on the genocide of European Jews during the Second World War was attended by about 200 experts.

It dealt mainly with the still unclarified process of decision-making leading up to the deliberate, systematic annihilation of the Jews between 1941 and 1944.

It was held by the history department at Stuttgart University, the Library of Contemporary History and the German section of the International Society on the History of the Second World War.

Eberhard Jäckel, of Stuttgart, in his opening address made it clear that none of the speakers felt any serious consideration could be given to the tenet that Hitler had known nothing about the "final solution" of the Jewish Question.

What had yet to be clarified was whether genocide was decided on as a result of a direct initiative on the Führer's part or was a consequence of many Nazi moves already undertaken.

Who arrived at the decision and when, and by what methods and in what sequence were European Jews to be annihilated?

Controversy arises because source material on how decisions were reached in Hitler's immediate entourage is scanty. Written instructions of the Führer's have not been found.

But orders were often issued by word of mouth only, which was doubtless advisable given the secrecy it was hoped to maintain.

Written instructions for the men entrusted with carrying out orders were couched in terms best described as camouflage. They amount to no more than a bare minimum proving their origin and bona fides.

The maximum as envisaged was outlined verbally by, say, Hitler to Himmler and by Himmler to Heydrich and Eichmann, *who were in charge of the units* that rounded up Jews in Eastern Europe.

Such documents as survive merely reflect the processes of decision that had already taken place.

Saul Friedländer, of Tel Aviv, outlined in a simplified manner the contrasting views held by two schools of thought. He called them the intentionalists and the functionalists.

The intentionalist viewpoint reigned supreme until the late 1960s and was put in Stuttgart by Raul Hilberg, of the United States, Wolfgang Scheffler, of Berlin, Andreas Hillgruber, of Cologne, Helmut Krausnick, of Stuttgart, and Professor Jäckel.

They feel there was a direct link between radical anti-Semitic ideology and the genocide of the Jews, which Hitler had envisaged at an early stage in his career.

A straight path ran from planning to implementation, with Hitler issuing the crucial order immediately before or during the invasion of the Soviet Union in July 1941.

Martin Broszat, of Munich, put the functionalist viewpoint, according to which ideology was merely a means of mobilising the masses and did not necessarily lead straight to genocide.

The functionalists do not agree that a general order was issued in 1941. Killings in the Polish ghettos were carried out by local authorities because the situation in the ghettos, where Jews had been hurriedly confined, was chaotic and food was in short supply.

Even the Wannsee conference, held in Berlin on 20 January 1942, is said not to have drawn up a general plan. It merely kept open the option of European Jews being deported further and further east.

It was realised that they might die in the process, but there were no clear plans for a "final solution."

Hans Mommsen, of Bochum, took the functionalist viewpoint the furthest *that could possibly be accepted*, according to Professor Friedländer, in arguing that anti-Semitism had been merely a rhetorical prop for Nazi agitation.

Hitler had drawn up vague, apocalyptic visions at an extremely theoretical level and never dealt with their practical implementation as Himmler did.

The murder machine got under way without specific orders by Hitler, who merely let the murderers get on with the job.

Given the scarcity of source material it makes sense, if the controversy is to be clarified, to go into the entire complex of decision processes between 1939 and 1942 by means of which the systematic annihilation of the Jews progressed from theory to feasibility.

Karl Schleunes, of the United States, showed with reference to the euthanasia programme, begun in 1939, how strongly committed Hitler was personally.

The "destruction of life unfit to live" was promptly entrusted to competing authorities as a result of the chaos typical of the entire Nazi system. Hitler allowed others to draw up practical proposals on eugenics, or racial hygiene.

Krausnick takes an entirely different view of Hitler's role, with reference to special units behind the front lines in Russia.

Before the invasion, in June 1941, Hitler told the Wehrmacht a "racial struggle" lay ahead, not a conventional war, and persuaded the army to dispense with Wehrmacht administration of occupied territories and leave that to the SS.

Also before the invasion, he issued orders to shoot immediately all Soviet political officers and Jewish members of the Red Army taken prisoner.

This was doubtless the period when Hitler issued verbal instructions for mass shooting of Soviet Jews, and there could be no question of the men in charge of special units obeying orders too enthusiastically.

In some instances units that weren't keen enough were given verbal instructions to shoot not only Jewish men but also women, children and the aged.

The Stuttgart debate showed that the leeway special unit commanders enjoyed until the end of 1941 could be taken to mean both that a specific order by the Führer existed and that it didn't.

The makeshift construction and initial mass murders at concentration camps in Poland at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 show how provisional arrangements were and how uncertain the authorities were how many victims there were to be.

Mommsen sees these first full-scale concentration camps as the link between special units and the systematic final solution. Individual moves merged into the "final solution" perspective.

The debate until this point was academic and sterile. The lectures by Wolfgang Scheffler, of Berlin, and Gitta Sereny, of London, sounded a different note by going into the reality of concentration camp life.

Structuralists and functionalists eventually reached virtual agreement that some kind of order by the Führer must have existed.

Mommsen alone insisted that while Hitler had been a prerequisite for the entire climate of murder, he was no longer needed as an active individual.

Once the special units had been issued instructions, including the order to shoot political officers and Jews immediately, the machinery of destruction took its course in accordance with laws of its own.

Krausnick feels Hitler's restraint was a bid to remain internationally acceptable if peace talks were ever held.

Friedländer finally wondered whether the entire debate was not antediluvian and run along late scholastic lines.

Only one issue was still disputed: whether Hitler had issued express instructions on the "final solution."

He felt that only mattered in the context of the resistance the German bureaucratic machine signally failed to offer. It couldn't have done, of course, if there had been no such orders.

Norbert Kampe

(Der Tagesspiegel, 6 May 1984)

Book reveals who was who in Third Reich

Robert Wistrich, *Wer war wer im Dritten Reich* (Who Was Who in the Third Reich), Supporters, Fellow-Travellers and Opponents in Politics, Industry, the Military, Arts and Science. German translation from the English by Joachim Rehark. Published by Harnack Verlag, Munich, 320pp, lavishly illustrated, DM54.

The flood of published work on the Third Reich seems to be increasing as the period recedes into the past. Over 20,000 publications have appeared, and even experts cannot hope to have heard of them all.

So Robert Wistrich, a historian who works in London and Jerusalem, seemed to have hit on a good idea in deciding to compile a Who Was Who of the Third Reich.

It was to contain biographies of nearly 400 people who played leading roles of various kinds in various spheres between 1933 and 1945.

The German edition of this reference work, which was published in London a year ago, is one of the first titles issued by Harnack, the newly-founded Munich publishers.

The result gives rise to mixed feelings even though, for one, it is clear on almost every page that the author as a longstanding member of staff of the Wiener Library, probably the most comprehensive archives there are on the Third Reich, had virtually unlimited access to source material.

In many instances he succeeds in neatly summarising complex data and events. He also makes it clear time and again that the Third Reich was by no means uniform and boasted something approaching pluralism.

Many people who consult "Wistrich" will be surprised to learn that the painter Emil Nolde, who was later reviled as depraved, was a keen Nazi, a member of the party from the outset and an ardent anti-Semite.

Another entry, that of the German nationalist Jew Max Naumann, testifies to the existence and the tragedy of German Jews who called for the expulsion of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and advocated the "total assimilation of German Jews in the German national community."

Wistrich also lists revealing and hitherto unknown facts about other leading German Jews, such as nuclear physicist and Nobel laureate Gustav Hertz.

As head of a Berlin University physics department he refused to sign a declaration pledging loyalty to the Führer in 1934 and was sacked.

But he was then appointed head of a Siemens research laboratory where he continued his research into nuclear physics during the war. In 1945 he was deported to the Soviet Union by the Russians as a captive scientist.

Such shades of grey illuminating what is so often a black-and-white view of the Third Reich make it well worth while reading the book.

Yet a number of errors and structural shortcomings make it not always pleasurable reading. They include odd spelling preferences and any number of vague or meaningless assessments.

Heydrich is referred to as *Reichsprotektor* and not, as he should have been, as Deputy Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia.

His state secretary Karl Hermann Frank, the SS leader, is referred to as exercising virtually unlimited powers in German-occupied Czechoslovakia; inaccurately so as his power extended only to the protectorate and neither to Slovakia nor to the Sudeten German area.

The photos in his entry are not of him. They show Hans Frank, the *Reichsrechtsführer* and later governor-general of Poland.

These may not be errors that will confuse or necessarily upset the specialist, but they considerably reduce the value of such a work of reference.

The criteria by which people were judged worthy of an entry are not clearly apparent either. It isn't always easy to decide who was "important" and who wasn't. It depends on one's point of view.

Yet in many sectors, such as the SS, Wistrich's preferences are entirely out of the question.

It may have been a good idea to devote a column and a half to Josef Kehl, an average SS NCO and concentration camp guard, but not an index mention is made, let alone a full entry, of Felix Steiner and Paul Hausser, the two generals who largely set up and led the Waffen-SS.

The entries on Bruno Brehm, Hans Albers and tennis ace Gottfried von Cramm are in contrast far too long. This is one of the most serious shortcomings of a book that is well-meant and in many respects first-rate.

Günther Deschner

(Die Welt, 29 March 1984)

■ PERSPECTIVE

An uncertain life in Bonn's mission in East Berlin

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Bonn's 10-year-old mission to the GDR is in a five-storey building in Hannoversche Strasse, about 10 minutes' walk from Friedrichstrasse station in the centre of East Berlin.

It may not be a very impressive building, but with its light-coloured exterior it has a cheerful look.

Like its counterpart in Bonn, the GDR mission in the Federal Republic, it officially started work on 2 May 1974. It is mainly behind-the-scenes work. Discretion is essential for the staff, who number about 90.

"We have had to live with many uncertainties from the start," says state secretary Hans-Otto Bräutigam, 53.

He has been head of the mission for two years but was a member of the advance working party and deputy head of the mission for its first three years.

Four days after it officially started work Willy Brandt resigned as Chancellor in Bonn after one of his aides had been unmasked as a GDR spy. "We had just arrived here and were promptly brought back to reality," Bräutigam recalls.

Ties between the two German states are "still hard work," but they have just about learnt how to come to terms with the contradictions that lead to tension, obduracy and disappointment.

In 10 years, he feels, they have succeeded in cooperating in a way "that makes it clear that we also have common interests."

The more intensive political dialogue is, in his view, a case in point. There is greater constancy in intra-German ties, with the result that setbacks no longer have such devastating effects as they once did. "We have found it easier to come to terms with them."

Talks now held are franker and more substantial than in the past, and the joint quest for solutions to problems that beset both sides tends to ease tension.

The two sides are well-briefed on each other and well aware of their respective difficulties and "no-go" areas, so that it can be said with some certainty which problems stand the best chance of being solved.

Yet in many sectors they are still unable to think things over together. Travel is one such topic, and probably one on which the GDR is most sensitive.

Herr Bräutigam says one of the encouraging developments has been that work in many sectors has become routine, as in implementing the intra-German health and transport agreements.

The mission's working contacts are more open and above-board than they used to be, just as it now plays a more active supporting role than in the past in preparing for talks.

There has been an increase in the number of political visitors from the Federal Republic in recent weeks and months.

The mission's work includes many minor activities, such as helping West German visitors to the GDR who run into difficulties, arranging for visitors who fall ill to be sent home, coping with emergencies and replacing documents.

The main emphasis in humanitarian work is on looking after citizens of the Federal Republic and West Berlin who are serving prison terms in GDR jails.

There are currently about 170. Most are in custody or were sentenced in connection with allegations of trying to help GDR citizens to escape to the West.

In the 1970s there were up to 500 or more. The present number makes it easier for mission staff to look after them more individually, although they can only be visited in jail periodically.

The mission's jubilee came at a difficult time, as is strikingly apparent outside and in the immediate vicinity of the premises.

About a dozen men in uniform and a number of plain-clothes men are on duty at the door, on the other side of the street and at the street corner.

Passers-by who are suspected of being GDR citizens who want to visit the Bonn mission have their papers checked on the spot and in the open. The process is usually repeated when they leave the building.

This screening, which is much more marked than at other Western missions, was prompted by a number of spectacular moves in January by GDR citizens keen to leave for the West.

They entered the US embassy and the Bonn mission in East Berlin and refused to leave until they were assured of exit permits to come to the West.

It is now known that visitors to the Bonn mission, such as ex-vicar Wolf Quassdorf, have been taken into custody and given prison sentences.

The Bonn government has voiced dissatisfaction with such practices and briefed the GDR on its viewpoint.

Bonn government spokesman Peter Boenisch has referred to a breach of both the letter and spirit of the agreement setting up the two missions, of the Helsinki accords and of established international practices.

Uniformed GDR guards were put on duty in front of the mission in January 1977 to check the papers of visitors. Bonn promptly protested, with the result that the guards were withdrawn after 36 hours.

Yet many visitors were later checked at some distance from the building after leaving it.

Herr Bräutigam views this development, which is obviously intended to deter would-be applicants for exit permits to leave for the West, with alarm.

The checks are a serious business because they create the impression that the Bonn mission is a place "it is better not to go to."

The number of visitors has declined, doubtless because GDR citizens have been put off by the number of guards. It is, he says, a loss in terms of normality.

The Bonn government has noted on several occasions that its East Berlin mission cannot become an escape route for GDR citizens. It has no special responsibility for reuniting divided families.

There are other approaches to this problem, and they have worked in the past in many cases even though they are often arduous.

Hans-Otto Bräutigam ... coming to terms (Photo: Sven Simon)

When Günter Gaus, who served as head of the mission for six and a half years, was accredited on 20 June 1974, he referred to the beginning of a road for the two German states.

It would be a long and stony road, and not always easy going, but the aim must be despite all differences to "fill with life" existing and future agreements.

In this respect nothing has changed in principle. Gaus's words have remained valid for his successors Klaus Bölling and Hans-Otto Bräutigam.

Yet over the years ways of quietly resolving many problems have been found.

Hartmut Jennerjahn/
Holger Schmale/dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 28 April 1984)

Exodus is still expected to continue

Bonn authorities do not think that East Berlin is intending to end the spate of exit permits..

Philipp Jenninger, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, was misunderstood when he forecast that the process would draw to a close by mid-May.

He was merely speculating that an estimated backlog of 15,000 to 20,000 applications were likely to have been dealt with by the GDR authorities by mid-May.

Over 20,000 GDR citizens have so far been allowed to start a new life in the West this year, and there have been hints that there would be a bow-wave of about 20,000.

Comments to this effect have been made both by Wolfgang Vogel, the East Berlin lawyer who plays a crucial role in exit facility arrangements, and Günter Mittag of the East German politbureau.

Yet many new arrivals at the refugee camps in Marienfelde, West Berlin, and Giessen, West Germany, only recently applied to leave the GDR.

So the new arrivals are a mixture of "cases" old and new, and all have moving tales to tell.

Statistics such as those kept on the backlog of applicants must be taken with a pinch of salt. Bonn learns via various channels of applications to leave the GDR:

- from friends and relations in the Federal Republic;
- from letters that come directly and indirectly from the GDR;
- and from Bonn's mission in East Berlin or embassies elsewhere.

Since the sit-ins by GDR citizens in Bonn missions and embassies in the East the opportunities open to diplomatic missions have been limited.

Lists are compiled and talks held with Wolfgang Vogel, who is a close associate and confidant of GDR leader Erich Honecker.

But the number of cases that never come to light is naturally enormous, and there can only be speculation as to the effect of the surprising number of applications granted.

A sudden end to the present practice would be most damaging to the GDR, which has officially explained its surprising generosity as the fulfilment of international commitments.

If it were suddenly to stem the tide it would merely be exposing itself. So the signs are that the spate of exit permits will slow down but not grind to a halt.

It could well revert to the average of between 8,000 and 11,000 in recent years. The influx over the past few months has been something special, a spring tide.

Viewed as part of the intricacies of intra-German relations, Herr Jenninger's forecast may have been intended to enable the GDR to return to normal in this context. Bonn has no interest in depopulating the GDR.

Yet East Berlin's move has gained a momentum of its own. Freedom of travel in *both* directions enjoys higher priority than ever on the intra-German agenda.

If the GDR really does want to allow dissatisfied citizens who are reluctant to conform or assimilate to leave for the West so as to achieve a greater degree of domestic stability, how can it hope to achieve this aim in the long term?

There are signs that the GDR is beginning to think more seriously than in the past of allowing greater freedom of travel in both directions than it already does (to a strictly limited extent).

According to Bonn statistics the GDR allowed 45,709 GDR citizens to visit the Federal Republic on urgent family business in 1982. Last year the number increased to 64,025.

But East Berlin is clearly still a long way away from considering a generally greater degree of freedom of travel. That would still be too much for a regime so worried about contacts with the West and the risk of infiltration.

There is still no question of the GDR adopting the Hungarian practice of allowing its citizens to visit the West once a year even though the mere possibility, whether used or not, would ease a great deal of pressure.

Only 600 of the 64,000 GDR visitors to the Federal Republic on urgent family business last year failed to return home, or so Herr Jenninger says. That is less than one per cent.

Bonn will continue to urge East Berlin to be generous. Erich Honecker's visit to Bonn in September or October will provide an opportunity of making the point.

The debate has really gained momentum with the spate of new arrivals from the GDR. It has done so above and beyond its immediate objective.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, 27 April 1984)

■ FLASHBACK

Annihilating the Jews: how the decisions were made

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The three-day international congress in Stuttgart on the genocide of European Jews during the Second World War was attended by about 200 experts.

It dealt mainly with the still unclarified process of decision-making leading up to the deliberate, systematic annihilation of the Jews between 1941 and 1944.

It was held by the history department at Stuttgart University, the Library of Contemporary History and the German section of the International Society on the History of the Second World War.

Eberhard Jäckel, of Stuttgart, in his opening address made it clear that none of the speakers felt any serious consideration could be given to the tenet that Hitler had known nothing about the "final solution" of the Jewish Question.

What had yet to be clarified was whether genocide was decided on as a result of a direct initiative on the Führer's part or was a consequence of many Nazi moves already undertaken.

Who arrived at the decision and when, and by what methods and in what sequence were European Jews to be annihilated?

Controversy arises because source material on how decisions were reached in Hitler's immediate entourage is scanty. Written instructions of the Führer's have not been found.

But orders were often issued by word of mouth only, which was doubtless advisable given the secrecy it was hoped to maintain.

Written instructions for the men entrusted with carrying out orders were couched in terms best described as camouflage. They amount to no more than a bare minimum proving their origin and bona fides.

The maximum as envisaged was outlined verbally by, say, Hitler to Himmler and by Himmler to Heydrich and Eichmann, *who were in charge of the units* that rounded up Jews in Eastern Europe.

Such documents as survive merely reflect the processes of decision that had already taken place.

Saul Friedländer, of Tel Aviv, outlined in a simplified manner the contrasting views held by two schools of thought. He called them the intentionalists and the functionalists.

The intentionalist viewpoint reigned supreme until the late 1960s and was put in Stuttgart by Raul Hilberg, of the United States, Wolfgang Scheffler, of Berlin, Andreas Hillgruber, of Cologne, Helmut Krausnick, of Stuttgart, and Professor Jäckel.

They feel there was a direct link between radical anti-Semitic ideology and the genocide of the Jews, which Hitler had envisaged at an early stage in his career.

A straight path ran from planning to implementation, with Hitler issuing the crucial order immediately before or during the invasion of the Soviet Union in July 1941.

Martin Broszat, of Munich, put the functionalist viewpoint, according to which ideology was merely a means of mobilising the masses and did not necessarily lead straight to genocide.

The functionalists do not agree that a general order was issued in 1941. Killings in the Polish ghettos were carried out by local authorities because the situation in the ghettos, where Jews had been hurriedly confined, was chaotic and food was in short supply.

Even the Wannsee conference, held in Berlin on 20 January 1942, is said not to have drawn up a general plan. It merely kept open the option of European Jews being deported further and further east.

It was realised that they might die in the process, but there were no clear plans for a "final solution."

Hans Mommsen, of Bochum, took the functionalist viewpoint the furthest that *could possibly* be accepted, according to Professor Friedländer, in arguing that anti-Semitism had been merely a rhetorical prop for Nazi agitation.

Hitler had drawn up vague, apocalyptic visions at an extremely theoretical level and never dealt with their practical implementation as Himmler did.

The murder machine got under way without specific orders by Hitler, who merely let the murderers get on with the job.

Given the scarcity of source material it makes sense, if the controversy is to be clarified, to go into the entire complex of decision processes between 1939 and 1942 by means of which the systematic annihilation of the Jews progressed from theory to feasibility.

Karl Schleunes, of the United States, showed with reference to the euthanasia programme, begun in 1939, how strongly committed Hitler was personally.

The "destruction of life unfit to live" was promptly entrusted to competing authorities as a result of the chaos typical of the entire Nazi system. Hitler allowed others to draw up practical proposals on eugenics, or racial hygiene.

Krausnick takes an entirely different view of Hitler's role, with reference to special units behind the front lines in Russia.

Before the invasion, in June 1941, Hitler told the Wehrmacht a "racial struggle" lay ahead, not a conventional war, and persuaded the army to dispense with Wehrmacht administration of occupied territories and leave that to the SS.

Also before the invasion, he issued orders to shoot immediately all Soviet political officers and Jewish members of the Red Army taken prisoner.

This was doubtless the period when Hitler issued verbal instructions for mass shooting of Soviet Jews, and there could be no question of the men in charge of special units obeying orders too enthusiastically.

In some instances units that weren't keen enough were given verbal instructions to shoot not only Jewish men but also women, children and the aged.

The Stuttgart debate showed that the leeway special unit commanders enjoyed until the end of 1941 could be taken to mean both that a specific order by the Führer existed and that it didn't.

The makeshift construction and initial mass murders at concentration camps in Poland at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 show how provisional arrangements were and how uncertain the authorities were how many victims there were to be.

Mommsen sees these first full-scale concentration camps as the link between special units and the systematic final solution. Individual moves merged into the "final solution" perspective.

The debate until this point was academic and sterile. The lectures by Wolfgang Scheffler, of Berlin, and Gitta Sereny, of London, sounded a different note by going into the reality of concentration camp life.

Structuralists and functionalists eventually reached virtual agreement that some kind of order by the Führer must have existed.

Mommsen alone insisted that while Hitler had been a prerequisite for the entire climate of murder, he was no longer needed as an active individual.

Once the special units had been issued instructions, including the order to shoot political officers and Jews immediately, the machinery of destruction took its course in accordance with laws of its own.

Krausnick feels Hitler's restraint was a bid to remain internationally acceptable if peace talks were ever held.

Friedländer finally wondered whether the entire debate was not antediluvian and run along late scholastic lines.

Only one issue was still disputed: whether Hitler had issued express instructions on the "final solution."

He felt that only mattered in the context of the resistance the German bureaucratic machine signally failed to offer. It couldn't have done, of course, if there had been no such orders.

Norbert Kampe

(Der Tagesspiegel, 6 May 1984)

Book reveals who was who in Third Reich

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He has been head of the mission for two years but was a member of the advance working party and deputy head of the mission for its first three years.

Four days after it officially started work Willy Brandt resigned as Chancellor in Bonn after one of his aides had been unmasked as a GDR spy. "We had just arrived here and were promptly brought back to reality," Bräutigam recalls.

Ties between the two German states are "still hard work," but they have just about learnt how to come to terms with the contradictions that lead to tension, diplomacy and disappointment.

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Hartmut Jennerjahn/ Holger Schmale/dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 28 April 1984)

Hans-Otto Bräutigam ... coming to terms (Photo: Sven Simon)

Exodus is still expected to continue

Bonn authorities do not think that East Berlin is intending to end the spate of exit permits..

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- from friends and relations in the Federal Republic;
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If the GDR really does want to allow dissatisfied citizens who are reluctant to conform or assimilate to leave for the West so as to achieve a greater degree of domestic stability, how can it hope to achieve this aim in the long term?

There are signs that the GDR is beginning to think more seriously than in the past of allowing greater freedom of travel in both directions than it already does (to a strictly limited extent).

According to Bonn statistics the GDR allowed 45,709 GDR citizens to visit the Federal Republic on urgent family business in 1982. Last year the number increased to 64,025.

But East Berlin is clearly still a long way away from considering a generally greater degree of freedom of travel. That would still be too much for a regime so worried about contacts with the West and the risk of infiltration.

There is still no question of the GDR adopting the Hungarian practice of allowing its citizens to visit the West once a year even though the mere possibility, whether used or not, would ease a great deal of pressure.

Only 600 of the 64,000 GDR visitors to the Federal Republic on urgent family business last year failed to return home, or so Herr Jenninger says. That is less than one per cent.

Bonn will continue to urge East Berlin to be generous. Erich Honecker's visit to Bonn in September or October will provide an opportunity of making the point.

The debate has really gained momentum with the spate of new arrivals from the GDR. It has done so above and beyond its immediate objective.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, 27 April 1984)

■ LABOUR

Around the world on foot on a restaurant floor

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Ironically the worst working conditions prevail, with long working hours, shift work and unsocial hours, where one of the most important features of the business is friendliness: the restaurant business.

Employees are subject to physical and psychological strains and the danger of accidents; they have relatively poor pay; they are ordered about like soldiers in a barracks and subjected to management methods like something out of the Middle Ages. According to a survey conducted by Munich students West Germany's 794,000 restaurant workers have a tough time of it.

Students at the Munich professionals college have conducted a survey of 48 managers and 205 employees, and examined studies and statistics which revealed that there is a lack of good advice about hotels and restaurants in travel agencies.

The students, members of a working group concerned with tourism, unearthed facts that had been revealed by previous studies.

In January this year, for instance, it was laid down that employees in this branch should work a 41-hour week, but in fact they work many more hours than that.

The study showed that 58 per cent of those employed had to work overtime so that 30 per cent of employees had to work more than 50 hours in a week, and for seven per cent as much as 70 hours.

More than a half had to work at the weekend regularly, a third worked on alternating shifts and ten per cent had to work on the late night shift.

The main reasons for having to work over-time were something having gone wrong in the kitchen (78 per cent), faulty service (85 per cent) or problems with room service (60 per cent).

Workers in the kitchen have it particularly hard since they have to put up with heat and are on their feet for long hours. Service personnel have to walk between 1.3 to 2.2 kilometres per hour which means that in ten years they walk round the world once. Workers in room service have to put up with working 25 per cent of the time bent over.

The students' study maintained that many of these difficulties were brought about by a traditional attitude to the job and a lack of forethought in building. This it is no wonder that 40 per cent of those questioned complained that from time to time they suffered from backache, and ten per cent maintained they had back pain daily. Thirty-five per cent complained of pains in the limbs, and 21 per cent had cramps or were flat-footed.

Reported that the restaurateurs association annual report said that every thirteenth employee had an accident in the course of a year, 39.4 per cent in the kitchen, 17.4 per cent in hotel rooms 6.7 per cent in the scullery or at the bar and 25.7 per cent when moving items, in the storerooms or in dining rooms.

Pay varies. The average pay in pubs and restaurants was about DM2,000 per month; in hotels it was 1,500 deutschmarks.

Most employers do not take part in discussions for pay increases, since each one has his own pay scale. Trainees in hotels are paid DM505, only DM360 in Hamburg, from which is deducted food and lodging charges. A bonus month's pay is unknown.

Forty-five per cent of those asked were unhappy about the quality of the food they were given. Often they had to eat standing up.

There is no break for 35 per cent and a third regularly had to forego a break.

This all results in a high percentage of trainees who give up their training (fifteen per cent), a high fluctuation in staff (fifty per cent in the course of a year), a tense atmosphere between waiters and the cooks with lots of aggression that was worked out on customers.

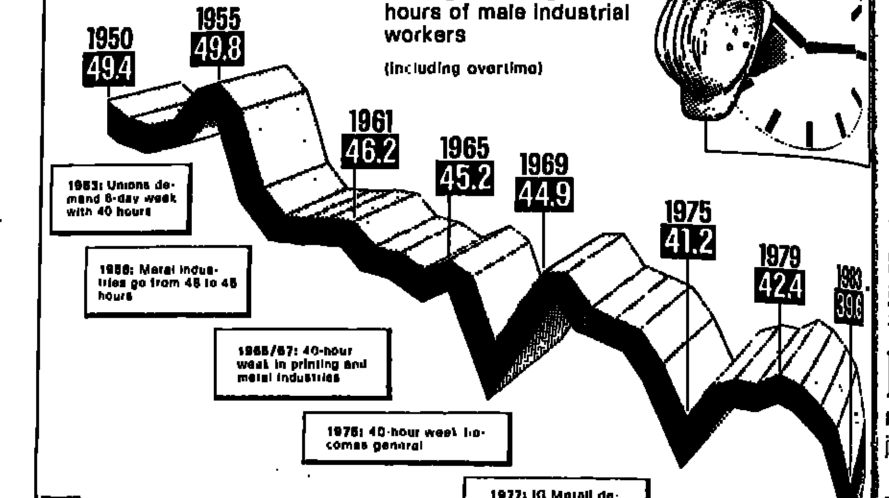
The reasons for this are provided by a breakdown of the labour force, 800,000 strong, of the industry. An analysis shows that 63.5 per cent are women, 16.4 per cent foreigners and 47 per cent of those questioned in the survey were below the age of thirty. In comparison with most other workers those in the hotel and restaurant sector are rarely unionised and they are not emancipated enough to have a say in employment policy.

The 126-page study on worker motivation in the hotel and restaurant business provides a few solutions to the problems that the investigation revealed. And offers a few tips to the medium-sized operations on how to motivate more effectively their staff in the job routine. (These tips could be useful to a large operation.) The authors of the study, however, said that the most important task to tackle was making work in a hotel or restaurant more congenial.

That is precisely the aim of a Research Ministry project that recently started in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Here in the railway station restaurant, and in hotels in Bad Godesberg and Dortmund, studies will be made to try and make the job more congenial, distances to walk measured, time to do jobs recorded and equipment examined. In Garmisch the kitchen has been reduced in size by a third and the cooking range converted to electricity from oil so that the air is better.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 2 May 1984)



Who earns how much for doing what

In an international survey of labour costs in industry West Germany last year was in fourth place at DM27.32 per hour, behind the United States with DM31.13 per hour, Canada with DM30.79 and Switzerland with DM29.43.

Within the European Community West German industrial labour costs were the highest, according to a report presented by the Institute for West German Economic Affairs, that has close relations with employers.

The investigation showed that labour costs from 1970 to 1983 in 18 western industrialised countries and that West Germany had the highest labour costs and particularly social benefit costs that continued to increase.

West German social benefit costs were DM12.17 per person, more than the Netherlands with DM11.89 and Belgium with DM10.73, the Cologne institute reports.

In America social benefit costs are only DM8.57.

According to the institute the pay per hour, that in most countries has been declining was in the United States DM22.56, in Canada DM22.64, almost as high as in West Germany. Then followed Switzerland with DM19.65 and Australia with DM19.05. West Germany's average hourly pay is DM15.25.

The lowest paid are the Spaniards with DM8.18 per hour and the Greeks with DM6.48. *dpa/vwd*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 3 May 1984)

Work becomes less dominating

How the 5,840 waking hours a year have been spent:

Work	Year	Leisure, holidays, eating, travelling time etc.
3920	1850	1920
3780	1875	2060
3485	1900	2355
2910	1925	2930
2640	1950	3200
1830	1975	4010
1769	1983 (estimate)	4071

4940

Gloves come off in fight for 35-hour week

DIE ZEIT

Now that the attempt by the employers and the metalworkers union to solve their disagreements over the form of the working week have collapsed there is nothing left to them but to revert to the solution that little boys would resort to: an all-out brawl.

The diagrams on this page make clear the background to this battle about the length of the working week.

In the 34 years since the 48-hour week measure was introduced the time worked has gradually been reduced to 40 hours -- this measure came into force in 1975. But there are two reasons why this is not identical with the average time worked.

The actual hours worked per week were increased by overtime. Then looked at from an annual point of view the time worked was reduced by the increase of the holiday benefit from four to six weeks per year, so reducing the time worked per week to 35 hours — after taking into account national holidays.

The diagram makes it clear how many hours our grandfathers had to work to earn their daily bread. We now only work half as many hours. But that is only half the story for young people begin working much later in life and people retire much earlier. People retire now on average ten years younger than did our grandfathers.

Compared with conditions internationally West German workers do not do so badly. Only the Belgians (for the time being) work fewer hours per year.

For this reason most workers are not interested in a further reduction in the hours worked per week. Only five per cent spoke in favour of a reduced working week in a recent survey.

That was before the struggle warmed feelings up. Now more holidays and flexible working hours are top of the list of demands. Compare with international standards the very long holidays enjoyed at the present are the bases for bringing down the number of hours worked per week.

(Die Zeit, 27 April 1984)

■ TRADE

Troubled waters below the surface: cheap competition, protection

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

European MP Fritz Gautier, who is also a member of the Parliament's agricultural committee, thinks it is all just "the calm before the storm".

He is a Social Democrat and recently wrote in the SPD press service that although hardly a single problem involving agriculture and the US had been solved, most politicians regarded the situation as harmless. Trading partners of the EEC see things quite differently. Neither the European-American nor the European-Japanese trading relations give reason for calmness.

There is tension between the three major trading blocs that generate half the world's trade — despite the successful West German industrial exhibition in Tokyo and despite friendly words emanating from the other side of the Atlantic.

In a few weeks' time European Commission president Gaston Thorn will be going to Tokyo to find out how much value can be placed on Far Eastern promises to open their doors to products "Made in Europe".

It is to be feared that this will be a trip full of disappointment.

The announcement in Tokyo that a whole range of industrial and agricultural products will be subject to tax reductions has impressed neither Bonn nor Brussels. The general judgment is that this move is a step in the right direction but quite unsatisfactory.

There is a considerable exchange of views with the Japanese. The hectic attention given to Far East affairs by politicians is spectacular. On the other hand there is little action between Washington and European capitals.

The explanation is simple: the USA is involved in an election and has no time for trade conflicts.

On the other hand there is a long list of industries, from shoe manufacturing, and wine-growing in California to machine tools, that are given Washington protection from imports from abroad.

The extensive demands the ailing American steel industry continues to make are just a case in point: from the European point of view this involves export volumes estimated to be more than DM12bn that come under severe political threat.

Recently EEC foreign ministers confirmed that the situation was alarming. There is evidence of a dangerous increase in trading limitations that could easily erode the world's free trade system.

The Washington government must be reminded by the Council of Ministers in Brussels of the sweet words Ronald Reagan's experts formulated at the last international economic affairs conference in Williamsburg.

Protectionism was not only going to be checked but with a step by step economic recovery present trade barriers would be pulled down.

But the Europeans are not the only ones who have reason to complain. The Americans maintain that European steel and agriculture policies are unfair to the whole concept of world trade.

The toughest conflict involves steel. Eighteen months ago Brussels committed itself to limiting the volume of EEC steel exports to the United States — "voluntarily", of course, as is usual in such cases.

Agriculture policy is being examined and its effect on trade in the industrial sector cannot yet be fully calculated.

According to the American point of view the Common Market's agriculture policy is a threat to the concept of free competition not only within its own boundaries but also beyond those boundaries.

American farmers fear for their satisfactory trade with cheap feedstuffs such as manioc and maize gluten as well as soya exports. And not without justification, for the Commission in Brussels has given the Council of Ministers the green light to begin negotiations about imports so as to "stabilise" the situation.

The reasoning is that European feedstuffs markets can be served to advantage and surpluses depleted.

In recent years the European Community has also intruded into third markets where the Community competes with the Americans. In 1970 the European Community was a grain importer, but now it is a considerable exporter. From being a major importer of poultry the Community is now a top exporter, and Common Market surpluses of meat and milk products are offered on world markets at prices that include heavy subsidies.

The influential American Secretary for Agriculture, John Block, complains that the European Community agriculture policy is primitive, and threatens to mount an aggressive United States export policy to bring European dominance in markets to an end.

The range of agriculture issues in dispute should not be underestimated. The volume of feedstuffs exported from the United States into the Common Market, surrounded by considerable argument, is equal in value to the volume of Japanese cars imported into the European Community.

American agricultural trade with the Common Market, which reduces American surpluses, reduces the American trade deficit by fifty per cent.

Diplomats in Brussels are convinced that any limitations on American access to European agricultural markets would prompt the Americans to introduce retaliatory measures.

In the 1960s the results of the "chicken war" were that import taxes were levied on cars and other industrial products imported into the US.

Last year the European Community had a trade deficit of DM12bn with the United States. The import surplus from Japan is almost twice as much — DM25bn.

The experts believe there will be a slight increase in imports from Japan, so the trade deficit will increase marginally. Any improvement on the one side of the balance sheet would be eaten up, it is feared, by a fierce increase in exports from the Far East.

With an eye to the views expressed by OECD economics experts the European Community fears that this year the Japanese economy will generate a trading surplus of more than DM70bn, a figure that even the Japanese believe is about DM15bn too much.

This brings about more calls for more protection from cheap competition. Just as the Americans with a keen eye on agriculture policy in Europe, Tokyo politicians watch with mixed feelings European trading policy for industrial products.

Demands for limitations on such sensitive items as video recorders and colour television sets can quickly lead to other demands for limitations on industrial products.

The Japanese are right to fear this. Recently French watchmakers successfully appealed to Brussels for protection from imports.

In view of this policy Gaston Thorn will find it difficult during his visit to Tokyo to go on a counter-offensive.

His brief has been known for a long time. Tokyo should make it easier to import into Japan, and that the opportunities to export agricultural and industrial products to Japan must be improved. And something must be done about piracy of European trade marks in the Far East.

It is uncertain if a repetition of these demands will have any more success than they have had in the past. What is sure is that with Oriental courtesy the hosts in Tokyo will give assurances that these demands will be considered.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 May 1984)

Dependence on exports

Percentage of GNP exported in EEC nations

in %

Country	%
France	17.3
Greece	11
Britain	21.2
Italy	21.2
West Germany	26.7
Denmark	27.7
Ireland	45.6
Bel/Lux	60.9
Holland	48.4

CONDON

Asean nations unhappy over Euro deal

Deep disappointment is felt in Asean capitals about the cooperation agreement concluded with the European Community four years ago.

This was obvious at a three-day seminar organised by the Asean secretariat and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn, and attended by government representatives and journalists in Djakarta.

The Asean states include Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand and, since January, Brunei.

The Philippine ambassadress Luz del Mundo pointed out that Asean countries placed high hopes on the agreement, signed on 7 March 1980 as a result of a speech made by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the EEC-Asean ministers conference.

Genscher had pushed the agreement forward on political grounds (the invasion of Afghanistan), whilst the Asean states wanted a counterweight to their increasing economic dependence on Japan and the USA.

The agreement called for trade cooperation and the promotion of the Asean states' economies, industrially and technologically as well in economic development policy, but nothing concrete was promised in the agreement. Abdul Fatah bin Zakaria, Under Secretary at the Malaysian Industry Ministry, said at the seminar that any number of memoranda dealing with problems had been submitted to Brussels but they had not caused any reaction.

This includes duty free facilities that the European Community ceded to the Asean countries in the same way as this facility is offered to other developing countries.

EEC officials explain that Asean countries' wishes are sometimes unrealistic, for instance, with plywood, shoes and a few other products, because EEC member states are not prepared to give up entirely the protection their own industries enjoy.

Only West Germany, relatively generous, is prepared to offer duty-free facilities to tiles from Thailand.

The Asean states had expected that they would obtain from the agreement trade advantages similar to those ceded to the African, Caribbean, and Pacific states by the Lome Agreement.

This is countered with the comment that the ACP states are among the poorest in the world without exception, whilst the Asean states are proud of having the fastest economic growth rate in the world (an annual growth rate of around 12 per cent).

This did not impress the Asean delegates to the seminar.

With the exception of Singapore the Asean states are exporters of raw materials — tin, rubber, vegetable fat, sugar, copper and coffee.

Delegates to the seminar raised the question of whether it would be possible to introduce a system to stabilise raw materials export losses in much the same way as that in operation for the countries involved in the Lome Agreement.

To this was added the view that the European Community was duty bound to adhere to the international raw materials agreement.

The Asean delegates were further disappointed that private investment from the European Community lagged so far behind that from America and Japan.

The European Investment Bank could work together with Asean financial institutions, signalling a recognition of the EIB's aims.

At the seminar there was considerable overestimation of the links that exist between European Community governments and EEC organisations.

The view was expressed that the EEC is too involved with itself and the ACP countries and, according to Mrs Chia Siow Yue of the University of Singapore, it has still not really discovered the Asean states.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 April 1984)

■ INDUSTRY

Bumper year for chemicals giants

WELT AM SONNTAG

Herbert Grünewald, who is 63, is retiring as head of the chemicals giant Bayer with all the bands playing.

Leverkusen-based Bayer's 350,000 shareholders will be told at the annual general meeting on 27 June that profits were twice what they were a year ago.

The group has had the best results in 10 years, DM600m more than the previous best.

When Grünewald took over the Bayer chairmanship in 1974 the organisation earned only half as much as it did last year: DM1.3bn as opposed to last year's earnings of DM2.16bn before tax.

The company is well-known worldwide as a producer of many items from Aspirin to Agfa film and chemicals for the rubber industry to plastic.

A report says that last year Bayer made as much in profit as it had in turnover during the Adenauer years.

The Bayer supervisory board has decided to pay out a dividend of DM354m, so joining the club of companies (there are now three with Siemens and Daimler-Benz) that paid out more than DM350m in dividends.

Last year's profits that were a 123 per cent increase over the previous year's figure put the organisation at the top of the class.

Frankfurt-based pharmaceuticals giant Hoechst, and BASF of Ludwigshafen, who produce naphtha and potash products, also earned considerably more than in the previous year.

Hoechst had a profit that was DM200m more than its previous record year of 1979, earning almost as much in profits as the organisation had in turnover in 1958.

Worldwide Hoechst showed profits last year of DM1.955bn which was almost exactly the organisation's turnover worldwide 25 years ago.

This year Hoechst will pay out DM329m in dividends, just a little more than the money giant of West Germany, Deutsche Bank, which will pay out DM325m to shareholders.

The third of the big three successors to IG Farben, BASF, just missed touching its record year of 1979 by DM25m.

Ludwigshafen-based BASF showed profits of DM1.67bn last year, 66 per cent increase over the figure for the previous year and equal more or less to the total BASF turnover in 1958.

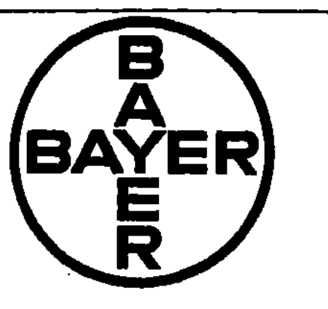
The "breathtaking" profits have caused caustic comment from the trade union newspaper *Welt der Arbeit* and the stock exchange newspaper *Börsenzeitung* commented:

"Our chemicals giants came back in 1983 with vehemence, leaping over the previous year's poor results with what can only be called a boom."

The three chemicals giants, who have published their results this month, play down the results. The general tenor of their comments is that 1983 seemed to be so good simply because 1982 was so bad.

The truth is that all three successors of IG Farben turned up red figures the year before because the competition was so intense with poor market demand. The envy that the left gave voice to was unwarranted since it was not just the three that had a good year; the *whole chemicals industry* did well, moving out of a slump into a boom.

BASF





Only the biggest profit-maker of the Big Three needed extra staff to earn the extra profit

Firm	World turnover		Pre-tax profits		Payroll		Dividend	
	in DMm 1983	c/w 1982	in DMm 1983	c/w 1982	1983	c/w 1982	1983	c/w 1982
BASF	37,850	+8.6 %	1678	+ 66.0 %	114,128	−1.5 %	7 Mark	+2.00 Mark
Bayer	37,336	+7.2 %	2163	+123.0 %	174.760	+2.6 %	7 Mark	+3.00 Mark
Hoechst	31,189	+6.3 %	1955	+ 82.4 %	180.000	−2.1 %	7 Mark	+ 1.50 Mark

Chemicals production in West Germany in 1983 increased seven per cent as compared with the previous year. For months the country's two largest chemicals companies have been running at 80 per cent of capacity.

In 1982 plant operated at only 70 per cent of capacity. Last year turnover increased 7.6 per cent to DM126.8bn. Overseas it increased almost twice as much as at home.

Business was particularly good in the United States, Canada, the Far East, the Benelux countries and Switzerland. Sales in the United States alone increased almost a third.

And there is more to come. In the first quarter of this year sales in the chemicals industry increased 15 per cent as compared with the same period in 1983.

The turn-round is not just founded in trading conditions. The industry has been able to come through the crisis of the past few few years in one piece.

Producers have been able to pull through the difficulties that beset a traditional industry: too many products out-of-date and fresh competition on world markets.

They have taken a long look at loss-making sectors of the industry such as chemical fibres and standard plastics. They have closed down factories, reduced some in size and taken up new products.

At Hoechst, for instance, a third of the workforce has had to be put on alternative work to fibre production. There was a time when the company had 14 per cent of its turnover in synthetics, while now this sector contributes only nine per cent.

In Bayer this sector dropped to only two per cent last year as compared with eight per cent in 1971.

The policy has been to do away with loss-making items in the plastics sector. Hoechst and BASF, the most important West German producers of plastic bags have closed down half their plant for this production.

Bayer chief Herbert Grünewald explained the course the industry should take at last year's annual general meeting.

He said: "We must go into specialist sectors that have the potentiality of growth. We know that we can only go ahead with the help of research."

The change from mass production to class costs jobs. Last year the number employed in the chemicals industry dropped 1.8 per cent.

In 1974 there were 602,000 people engaged in the production of preparations for circulatory troubles and injections, soap and polsyster sheeting, fibres and fertilisers, video tapes and insecticides, dyes and varnishes, but at end of superyear 1983 the total employed was only 548,000.

The revolutionary changes in the West German chemicals industry will have further pressure on these figures.

In a company such as Hoechst, for example, more than 3,500 workers are each year put to work on new jobs, new products. Every fourth product is less than ten years old.

Heide Neukirchen

(Welt am Sonntag, 6 May 1984)

AEG-Telefunken are finally out of the red

AEG-Telefunken had a good 1983, and, as chairman Heinz Dürr said at a press conference, for the first time in 15 years the group made a profit worldwide of DM37m.

It seems to have acquired new life, but it does not seems to have quite got its head right out of the water.

With hindsight it can be seen that the tough re-organisation programme that was introduced was a step in the right direction.

In 1982 AEG chalked up a lost of almost one billion deutsche marks, and in the first quarter of this year the figures were red.

Under pressure of circumstances the organisation has had to dump loss-making subsidiaries and cut back on staff.

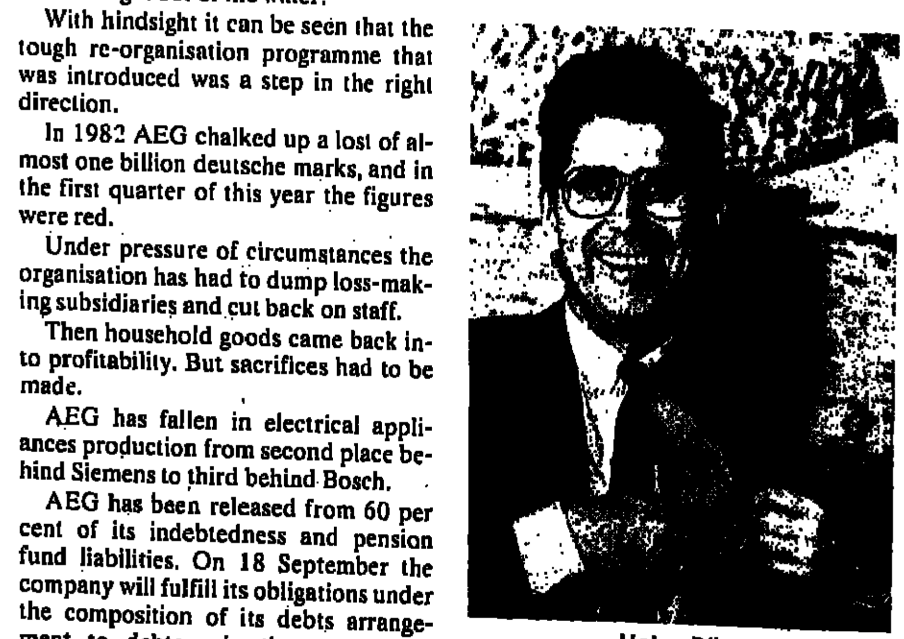
Then household goods came back into profitability. But sacrifices had to be made.

AEG has fallen in electrical appliances production from second place behind Siemens to third behind Bosch.

AEG has been released from 60 per cent of its indebtedness and pension fund liabilities. On 18 September the company will fulfill its obligations under the composition of its debts arrangement to debtors in the proportions agreed.

The demands of the banking consortium will be dealt with in such a way that the payment of one billion deutsche marks will not endanger the company's future.

The future will be further secured by consolidation, a reduction of debts, and by building up research and development facilities, along with increased productivity.



Heinz Dürr
(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

AEG expects that satisfactory results will be achieved this year. Dürr said that in the first few months of this year orders, turnover and earnings had reached expectations.

It is hoped that turnover will touch the same level as it did last year. This year DM430m will be invested in plant as opposed to DM383m last year.

The workforce was 75,100 at the end of March, 1,500 fewer than at the end of 1983. After drastic cuts in the number of employees over the past couple of years it will now be possible gradually to recruit staff.

By the end of this year Dürr expects that the labour force will again be between 73,000 and 75,000.

One of the reasons for success is that the price/cost ratio has been improved.

Worldwide the group's turnover touched DM11.5bn (DM11.6bn last year). The proportion of foreign business increased 5.2 per cent from 43 cent to 45 per cent. Worldwide orders were DM11.1bn, about five per cent below the previous year's figure.

Domestic business showed a profit of DM14m, the concern as a whole worldwide showed a gain of DM37m.

Considerable importance was given to the earnings of the parent company that contributed considerably to the satisfactory results for the group as a whole.

The effects of losses overseas where majority holdings are held, particularly in France and Brazil, had to be taken into account.

Furthermore allowance had to be made for the sums paid out as adjustment measures — DM400m had to be found. This mainly involved the sale of holdings in other companies and the disposal of real estate.

In the 1983 accounts other items had to be included to balance accounts.

They included the DM900m that had to be found for 1982 losses. In all the sum involved was DM1.1bn.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 May 1984)

■ AEROSPACE

Ariane and Spacelab only part of the Esa success story

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Esa, the European Space Agency, has been going for 20 years, if its predecessor is included, and it can be proud of its performance.

It has more feathers in its cap than the Ariane, a space rocket first launched in 1979, and the European Spacelab, handed over to the Americans after its successful maiden mission.

Missiles previously launched are agreed to have been exemplary for their technical precision. But it was a while before the Europeans were able to gain a firm foothold in space alongside the Americans and the Russians.

Plans for European cooperation in space research were drawn up as long ago as June 1960, when scientists from 10 countries met in Paris to consider how they could catch up with the great powers.

The chairman of the British space research body was appointed to head an international commission to lay the groundwork for a European space research centre.

Switzerland showed keen interest. At the end of November 1960 the Swiss government held a European space conference in Geneva attended by officials from 11 countries.

The Swiss proposed to draw up a treaty for a European organisation to be exclusively entrusted with the peaceful exploration of outer space. The British offered their Blue Streak rocket for joint development and use in high-altitude research.

They also proposed the development of a European launcher rocket based on it. Bonn Defence Minister Franz Josef Strauss was strongly opposed to the idea.

The Blue Streak was a purely military rocket on which Britain had started work in 1955 at a time when no-one had any idea of long-range missiles fired from mobile launching pads or of large, solid-fuel rockets.

After having spent about £100m on the project, Britain shelved it for defence purposes in April 1960.

The Geneva conference resulted in plans for two separate organisations, Esro and Eldo, to concentrate on space research and launcher development respectively.

The European Space Research Organisation was set up on 14 June 1962. Its 10 initial members may be considered the founder-members of Esa too.

They were Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain.

The Esro convention came into force on 20 March 1964, with Austria, Ireland and Norway claiming observer status.

The European Launcher Development Organisation was set up by six European countries and Australia on 29 March 1962. The agreement came into force on 29 February 1964.

Its aim was to design and build a European launcher rocket using Britain's Blue Streak as its first stage, France's Super-Véronique as its second and a new German-designed third stage.

The Dutch planned to supply the data transmission system, including ground facilities.

Belgium undertook to supply the ground control stations, Italy the first series of research satellites, including electronic equipment.

Australia was to place its rocket launching facility at Woomera at the organisation's disposal.

The Europe 1 rocket was due to be completed by the mid-1960s at a cost of £70m, which in those days was DM785m.

Esro was a success story from the outset. By the time it was merged with Eldo in 1974 it had sent seven research satellites into space on board US launcher rockets. All worked well.

It also launched 183 high-altitude research rockets from Esrange, near Kiruna in Sweden. These experiments were abandoned and the facilities handed over to the Swedish government at the end of 1971.

Eldo in contrast was dogged by failure. Between 1964 and 1970 ten bids to launch the Europe 1 from Woomera failed.

-When the first, modified Europe 2 rocket exploded two and a half minutes after take-off from Kourou in French Guiana at the end of 1971 the ill-fated project was finally abandoned.

Eldo, which now had little left to do, was merged with Esro early in 1974, and on 30 May 1975 a new agreement was signed in Paris, with the European Space Agency taking over the facilities of its two predecessors. Esa started work the next day. It had the 10 Esro countries and Ireland as full members and Austria and Norway with observer status, while Canada took part in a number of projects. Esa not only continued Esro's success story; it also finally took off into space with Ariane and developed the Spacelab. It currently employs a payroll of about 1,500. One in five works at Esa headquarters in Paris and roughly the same number at the European Space Operations Centre in Darmstadt.But over half the staff work at the European Space Research and Technology Centre in Noordwijk, Holland. Esa also runs a data centre in Frascati, near Rome, that retains its original name, European Space Research Institute.

Lift-off for Euro-rocket Ariane at Kourou, French Guiana
(Photo: dpa)

European space research is run from these centres and from the Kourou launching facility in French Guiana. But others are available all over the world.

Esoc in Darmstadt, for instance, has data transmission and surveillance stations in Michelstadt, Germany, Redu, Belgium, Villafranca, Spain, Kourou, French Guiana, and Carnarvon, Australia.

If required it also has access to national facilities in Malindi, Kenya, Fucino, Italy, Kiruna, Sweden, and Maspalomas in the Canary Islands.

Then there are the control centres of the French space research agency, Cnes, in Toulouse, the German Aerospace Research Establishment in Oberpfaffenhofen, Munich, the Rutherford and Appleton laboratory in Chilton, England, and ground stations inIbaraki, Japan, Natal, Brazil, Akakro, Ivory Coast, and Farnborough, England.

As in surveillance, Esa has access to national facilities in testing satellites, for which Estec is responsible.

It coordinates work at the Cnes space research centre in Toulouse and the aerospace test centre in Ottobrunn, Munich.

Esa's foremost current project is to develop the Ariane into a more powerful launcher rocket system. The modified Ariane 1 is scheduled for launching this summer.

It is administered by a council on which all member-countries are represented. Each country has one vote, and the council is backed up by a scientific programme committee.

Esa's budget totals roughly DM2bn a year, of which Bonn contributes nearly a quarter. Contributions are based on average GNP over the past three years.

Contributions constitute a claim to a corresponding share of Esa contracts for member-countries' aerospace industries.

Research contracts are substantial. An estimated 20,000 people in Esa countries are engaged in research work for the agency. *Günter Paul*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 May 1984)

■ TECHNOLOGY

Munich museum opens new aerospace unit

Mannheimer MORGEN

The first true plane in the world, the Junkers F 13, has been found on a rubbish dump in Afghanistan. The most famous plane of all times, the Ju 52, complete and airworthy, was bought for one symbolic franc in France.

The fastest propeller plane ever series-built, the Dornier DO 335, is on long-term loan from the USA.

These three items are attractions at the new aviation and space section of Munich's *Deutsches Museum*. Its foundation stone was laid six years ago by head of state Walter Scheel. It has now been by Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The opening festivities included a lecture by the aircraft manufacturer Ludwig Bölkow on aviation and space travel, and an extensive exhibition of helicopter models.

The new facilities, five stories high and including a glass-roofed courtyard, the whole covering 8,200 square metres, replaces the old halls given over to aviation that were opened in 1925. It was not considered possible that these could be extended in any way.

The new exhibition facilities cost DM41m and are a national museum of aviation and space travel, similar to what other countries have that have played an important role in the development of aviation.

Germany has played such a role and used to have an aviation museum in Berlin, but the new wing of the Deutsches Museum in Munich does German aviation proud — from the earliest pioneering days to the latest jets and space rockets.

Many of the exhibits, originals "Made in Germany" that have been gathered together in Munich have in part been put in order by the West German air force workshops at Fürstenfeldbruck. Many of them have a lot of history behind them.

For instance, Otto Lilienthal's 1895 biplane in which the aviation pioneer made more than 2,000 glider flights until he had an accident in the Rhinow hills near Berlin.

There is the first motor-powered plane to be built in Germany in which the Wright brothers flew from Tempelhof at a height of 172 metres for 95 minutes.

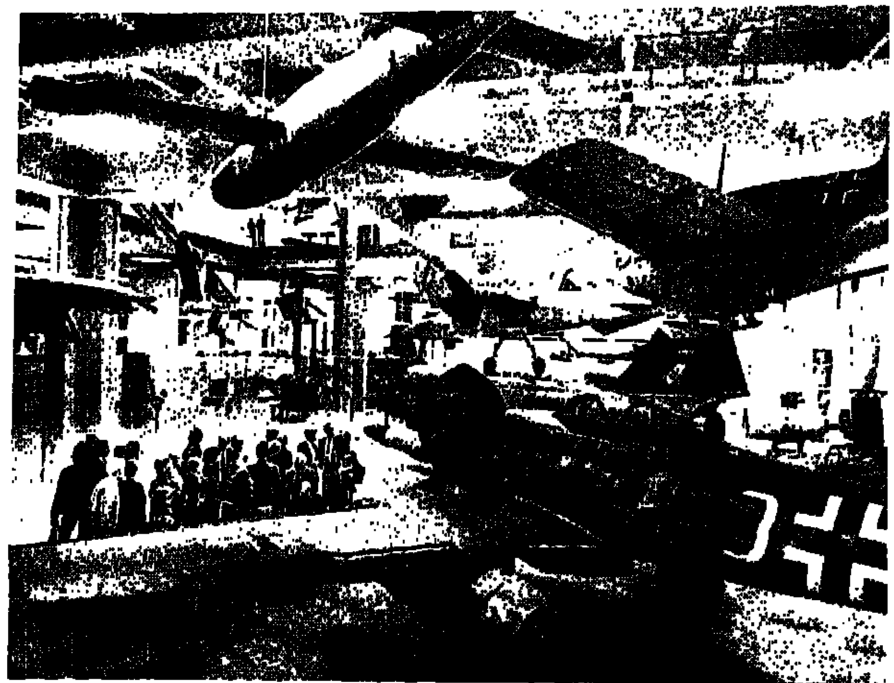
Then there is Edmund Rumpler's 'Dove'. He founded the first aircraft manufacturing factory in Germany, in Berlin in 1909.

Then the 25 horse power monoplane 'Kanaltype' in which in the same year Frenchman Louis Bleriot was the first to fly across the English Channel.

The world's most famous technical museum also has a few sports planes with such famous names as Klemm, Focke, Wulf and Jungmeister, the successful helicopter from Ottobrunn, and the first vertical take-off plane that crashed on a test flight in Manching.

Then there are the most important fighter planes in the West in the post-war period, the Starfighter and the

Continued on page 11



History on the wing (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

Newcomers cater for interest in industrial archaeology

Technical museums some of which are reviewed in this article, are increasingly popular. Industrial archaeology deals with the plant, machinery and engineering of the industrial revolution, many of which are now listed as historic monuments. New museums have been set up to cater for the upsurge in interest.

West Berlin: Just before Christmas the first phase of the Museum of Transport and Technology, officially established in 1982, was opened at the former Anhalter Bahnhof railway station.

With an investment of DM200m it is proposed to display in a space covering 20,000 square metres the history of technology and its scientific basis.

Although staff have been working for over 20 years in preparation the astonishment was considerable for there was a rush of visitors — often over a thousand a day.

And as a special gift the West Berliners by chance acquired one of the oldest technology museums in West Germany. When East Germany handed over to West Berlin the Berlin S-Bahn suburban electric railway the Berlin Senate received back, to the delight of rail fans, the Hamburger Bahnhof, the only remaining overhead railway station in the divided city.

The amazing fact is that the station, out of use for forty years, was well looked after, but unchanged. It was as if time had stood still.

A question mark has been put over this museum material since this unexpected revival is bound to lead to difficulties sooner or later.

Dortmund: The Westphalia Museum of Industry is established at the former Zollern II colliery in Bövinghausen, Dortmund,

This Jugendstil building was saved from demolition by a group of concerned citizens and since 1970 has been a listed historic building, and a ideal location for this purpose.

The Dortmund museum works in close cooperation with the Cologne Museum of Labour.

Frankfurt: The Postal Museum plans to expand enormously from its present six hundred square metres to a display area of 4,000 square metres.

A Stuttgart architect's office has won the contract, and building should begin in 1985. By the end of this decade yet another museum will join the many in Frankfurt, where there has been recently a considerable amount of museum building.

There has been considerable expansion of the sector dealing with telecommunications and an information desk has been set up to help visitors find their way through the jungle of new media and cable communication.

Hamburg: There should be a Museum of Labour in the not too distant future. At the present it is a department of the Museum of Hamburg History during the building phase.

The history of the working world will be shown from its roots. This museum that has had considerable support from the trade unions will occupy 15,000 square metres.

Kassel: It is proposed to set up a museum of science and technology in the Fridericianum, rooms that have been



used from 1779 to 1913 and have now been restored from the ravages of war.

Here the oldest collection of instruments will be on display, made all that more interesting by additional exhibits from the history of technology in Hesse.

The director of the museum, Ludolf von Mackensen, does not want to have any art in the building.

Representatives of the modern art show *documenta* have threatened to withdraw from Kassel if they do not have sole use of the exhibition space available in the Fridericianum, recently extended in a classical style.

A compromise was reached that they should share the space available on a half and half basis but that has not satisfied the *documenta* people.

Mannheim: A technical museum is being built on the site of the Maimarkt, laid out at a cost of DM40m, the state museum of technology and labour.

According to Helmut Engler, science and art minister in Baden-Württemberg, the museum's aim is to display the industrialisation in the south-west in the 19th and 20th centuries.

In all DM100m will be ploughed into this project that will cover 6,000 square metres and will not be filled entirely with the customary exhibits but items that fit the space age as well.

The exhibition will be laid out in a given time sequence, early to advanced industrialisation and on to the third industrial revolution.

The search is already on for interesting exhibits, although it is not expected that the foundation stone will be laid much before 1985 and it is not expected that the exhibition will be opened until 1988/1989.

Munich: The famous Deutsches Museum, that had 1.3 million visitors in 1982 and is already huge, covering 40,000 square metres, is to be extended.

In May this year the Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl opened new exhibition rooms devoted to space travel.

The construction of this extension to the museum, cost DM40m, means that there is now a central museum for aviation and space travel.

Nuremberg: The *Centrum Industriekultur* has had the most experience of presenting the latest in technology. Since 1980 an exhibition has been mounted, and this year, the fourth, will be opened in June, entitled Looking Back on the Life of Nuremberg Metalworkers, in the Norishalle.

The exhibition will include oral history materials, interviews with more than 50 metalworkers born between 1900 and 1910 who are still alive.

The event will not be a dry exhibition but will give some insight into social and cultural values, including tools and items from a worker's home.

Paris: But French take the prize. From 1986 the national museum of science, technology and industry should be open, built at a cost equal to DM600m and comparable in size to the Centre Pompidou.

The Paris abattoir that was built in the 1960s and became a white elephant was unused. More than 400 people are now working to fill the 40,000 square metres of display space. It is planned to extend the exhibition area a further 30,000 square metres.

The present Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and the Palais de la Découverte are satisfactory until the turn of the century.

They provide a positive picture of French science and technology with the aid of modern methods such as 3D, films, videos and computer technology.

Winterthur: The Swiss are a little more careful with money than are the French or the Swabians. *The Technorama der Schweiz* has been planned for more than a century but it was only opened two years ago and the museum's society has been in operation since 1947.

The state paid a great part of the building cost but current operating costs are only twenty per cent covered by public funds.

Despite a good number of visitors the Technorama Foundation showed a debt of one and a half million francs in its first year of being open to the public.

This debt has had to be covered by private donations. The director commented that idea behind the Technorama was to present technology, so often seen as something threatening and foreign as an old friend.

He said the Technorama would probably not find its worth until the next generation came along.

R.Schröder

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 April 1984)

■ PROFILE

Alexander vom Humboldt, a giant of geography

Nordwest Zeitung

Alexander von Humboldt, who died 125 years ago, was not only the best-known German of his day. He is still highly-rated internationally, although many exaggerations fail to reflect his true personality.

He was neither a monarch of the exact sciences nor the last universalist of natural research. Many misunderstandings about Humboldt block access to the quintessence of his achievements.

He was born on 6 May 1769, a year of birth he shares with Napoleon. Two hundred years later a young scientist surprised the world by cataloguing over 1,000 names commemorating him.

They included schools, a university, a lunar crater and even an ocean current.

He was indeed a versatile researcher, delving into subjects ranging from botany to salt mining and galvanism. But he failed to go beyond a promising and illuminating start, and ceased all creative activity of his own from 1805 on.

Humboldt was a very rich man from the outset and embarked on a brilliant career in mining, but in his spare time he spent six years preparing for his voyage to the tropics and the New World.

He took with him over 40 measuring instruments, from sextant to chronometer. They were the most accurate available, and more than had been at the disposal of any previous expedition.

He published a plethora of works, many of which were not very significant, but they included a trio of brilliant research programmes he methodically based along Kantian lines and united under the all-encompassing umbrella of supreme science.

Its name changed as he progressed, ending as physics of the earth, or physical geography. It can now be taken to mean a wide-ranging natural geography including both terrestrial magnetism and, above all, people.

With his background, equipment and preparations Humboldt proved to be the leading geographer of the late 18th century when he set out on his exemplary voyage of discovery in 1799.

He spent five years travelling and doing research in what are now Venezuela, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Ecuador again, Mexico, Cuba again, and the United States.

His intellectual influence was so overwhelming that we still see the tropical rain forest, the humid and dry savannah and the high-altitude plateaus through his eyes.

Never before had a research scientist fully equipped with measuring instruments spent months in the abundant life of the steaming jungle. No-one had climbed higher than the Chimborazo in the cold zones of the tropics.

Even without going through a physical fitness programme he demonstrated an improbable degree of stamina and powers of resistance.

Like Sven Hedin, he was able to exact the utmost from his body, whereas his French companion Aimé Bonpland was twice very seriously ill.

Humboldt couldn't swim, yet he survived a shipwreck when the expedition's boat turned turtle in the Orinoco and a storm near the Bahamas that made him wonder whether he and his companions, let alone his finds, would survive.

His will power and enthusiasm seem to have carried him effortlessly over so many dangers.

He discovered the magnetic equator, charted the location of many places and found a wild tomato plant by the shores of Lake Valencia.

The existence of this wild tomato was later contested, yet in 1966 the botanist Heinz Brücher again proved, at exactly the same spot, the wild variety's existence.

Humboldt was first to measure the extremely low temperature of water in the current that bears his name off the coast of Peru.

By means of astronomical measurements he located the exact position of the controversial Casiquiare, the natural link between the Rio Negro and the Orinoco.

Shortly beforehand a European geographer had described the idea as a geographical monstrosity. The mere mention of over 700 places positioned, 450 altitudes recorded and over 5,000 plants described, including 3,600 newly-discovered varieties, conveys a slight idea of the extent of his researches, if only in outline.

But special mention must be made of the first full outline of a European and an overseas country (Spain in 1799 and Mexico in 1803-04).

His many other incomparable cartographical achievements include first charts of the Orinoco, the Magdalena, the Andes and Mexico.

They strikingly illustrate that Humboldt was the most stimulating cartographer of his day.

He himself saw the abundance of flora, fauna and geological specimens he collected as important results of his travels but not as the true outcome of his expedition.

He drew up a "natural painting" of the tropics, from 10° N to 10° S and from the Pacific via the Andes to the low-lying land of the Amazon basin, to illustrate his main findings.

In one gigantic outline he entered his readings and observations on the left and right, while the outline itself was dotted with plant locations.

His aim from the outset was not to discover new natural phenomena but to establish links. His "natural painting" was a forerunner of practical ecology.



Alexander von Humboldt (Photo: Interpress)

It was based, one is bound to add, mainly on ideas put forward by the French scientist G. L. I. de Buffon, the Swedish botanist Carl von Linné and the German writer Johann Gottfried Herder.

Humboldt commenced the many volumes he compiled on his expedition with his Ideas on a Geography of Plants and the explanatory notes to this natural painting.

It remains to this day the largest collection of documents ever published on a single expedition, harmoniously demonstrating the threefold character of any such venture.

He spent six years preparing for the expedition, five years on it and a further 30-odd years compiling, evaluating and publishing his findings.

Yet not even a man such as Humboldt could hope to accomplish everything he had in mind. He wanted to compare the Andes and the Himalayas, but the British were suspicious of the Prussian's intentions and wouldn't let him into India.

He had never been so depressed, yet he overcame his depression and enabled the Schlagintweit brothers to carry out a voyage of discovery to India that helped him to develop his own geographical ideas.

In 1829 he crossed the Baltic to Russia and the Eurasian land-mass to Siberia. He set foot on Chinese territory, travelled on the Caspian Sea and visited the Volga Germans.

His work on Central Asia vies with the last edition of his Views on Nature and his Cosmos for the honour of being described as the crowning achievement of his physical geography.

The Cosmos consisted of a first section dealing with astronomy and a second section dealing with the earth, so as a physical description of the world it really can be said to portray heaven and earth.

Humboldt was the greatest geographer of the modern era, the leading cartographer and explorer of his day and a brilliant natural scientist.

He was also a committed advocate of human rights and pilloried each and every breach of them. He used science as a telling weapon with which to fight oppression, anti-Semitism and slavery.

To disregard this point is to fail to understand his role as an exemplary patron of the sciences and the Education Minister of Europe in all but name.

His example is one to follow. It demands to be followed suit, not just admired, and to be followed regardless of resistance encountered.

Hanno Beck

(Nordwest Zeitung, 5 May 1984)

Continued from page 10

Tornado. There is the airfoil of an A 300 Airbus.

Up a flight of stairs rather shamefacedly there is Germany's famous 'wonder weapon' of World War II, the V 2.

Museum director Otto Meye said that the museum only displayed warplanes when their technical development played an important role in aviation.

The rockets produced at Peenemünde by Wernher von Braun were the forerunners of the rockets that were later to be used by NASA.

The space exhibition includes a rocket engine that propelled Saturn V to the Moon and a suit the pilot wore on that trip.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 May 1984)

■ ENVIRONMENT

Gamma ray sterilisation worries consumers

DIE ZEIT

Gamma ray food treatment worries the German Consumers' Association, which claims in a leaflet that the atomic lobby plans to turn us all into nuclear waste dumps by means of food subjected to radioactive bombardment.

The association is wildly exaggerating its case, but it is speculating on people's fears of atomic energy and of the bombardment of foodstuffs with ionised radiation.

It would dearly like to prevent the introduction in Germany of what is a treatment designed to make perishables last longer.

What it calls a "bright idea of the resourceful nuclear lobby" is not as new as it would have us believe. A Stuttgart firm used radioactive bombardment to kill bacteria in spices back in 1959.

But the technique was banned in a subsequent Foodstuffs Act, and "radioactive treatment or the import of food treated in this way" has since been an offence.

Manufacturers resorted to other, chemical techniques such as gassing potatoes, spices, grain and other sensitive foodstuffs to kill harmful bacteria and microbes and prevent seeding.

Ethylene oxide, a poison gas, has proved particularly effective, and Bonn nutritionist Professor Konrad Pfeilsticker says it has passed toxicological tests with flying colours.

With exceptions, he would like to see this method of preserving foodstuffs retained. Nothing better has yet been found, he says.

The Bonn government does not agree. It banned the gas when the Federal Health Council ruled last October that it caused cancer. Radioactive bombardment has since loomed large again.

A number of companies have applied to be exempted from the ban on radiation. They mainly want to sterilise spices in this way.

The Bonn Health Ministry is reluctant to give them the go-ahead, doubtless fearing the force of public opinion and sensing that most voters will associate radioactive bombardment with nuclear weapons.

"The new treatment isn't as bad as all that," says Professor Johannes-Friedrich Diehl, head of the biochemistry unit at the Federal Food Research Establishment, Karlsruhe.

He says the technique is completely harmless. "It has been tested for 30 years and shown to be unobjectionable healthwise. After bombardment with low-energy beta or gamma rays food has been found to contain not the slightest trace of radioactivity."

This view is shared by both the World Health Organisation and the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation. They gave it the go-ahead in 1977.

In 1980 an international commission in Geneva said there could be no objection to radiation up to a dose of 10 kilogrey.

Food has since been subjected to gamma radiation in about 20 countries, ranging from Third World countries such as Bangladesh to industrialised nations such as Japan and including EEC members France, Italy, Belgium and Holland.

As long as mushrooms or onions treated in this way cannot be sold in the Federal Republic of Germany, trading partners are bound to feel the German regulations are merely a restrictive practice and restraint on trade.

German food manufacturers are worried counter-measures might be imposed in retaliation on imports of German food by other EEC countries.

Such fears, felt by vegetable exporters in particular, are something new. As long as they were able to give produce the gas treatment, which was inexpensive, the idea of restrictive practices never as much as crossed their minds.

A fully-equipped radiation unit, consisting of the radioactive source, a concrete shield, storage for bombarded produce and conveyor belts to run the food past the nuclear fuel rods, costs about $3m. Chemical treatment cost much less in capital investment.

Only two years ago Professor Diehl felt industry was not interested in the bombardment technique because it held out no prospect of substantial profits.

That only changed when ethylene oxide was banned. Radioactive bombardment now enjoys greater support. "Since the gas was banned food exporters have been hit by bad business. No-one wants to buy spices that are not properly sterilised," says Susanne Langguth, a Bonn spokesman for the food industry.

"The risk is simply too grave. I expect Health Minister Geissler to issue the first permits to bombard spices in the next two months."

Der Spiegel, the Hamburg newsweekly, said last December that Herr Geissler had decided to sanction the technique. But he has not yet been persuaded to give the go-ahead.

Bavaria is less squeamish than Bonn. The second-largest food radiation plant in Europe is in Allershausen, near Munich. It is Dutch-owned and was authorised by the Bavarian Interior Ministry last autumn to use the nuclear technique, but only on produce for export.

Yet it would be wrong to imagine that Germany is an oasis of untreated food in a radioactive world, the Bonn Health Ministry admitted in a February 1984 answer to a parliamentary question tabled by the Greens.

"There is practically no way of preventing the import of food subjected to radioactive bombardment if no mention is made of the fact," the Ministry said.

The resulting level of radioactivity is so low that it can't be traced in vegetables. That is one of the bases of the scientific dispute.

Advocates of the technique say there has been no sign, in 30 years' research, that told against the treatment. It would be pernicious exaggeration to talk in terms of food being contaminated by radioactivity.

Professor Pfeilsticker as a supporter of chemical treatment says radioactive bombardment creates substances in food on which not enough research has been carried out.

It could also lead to cell changes and vitamin loss, but that cannot be ruled out with conventional sterilisation techniques either. So the Consumers' Association advocates using alcohol vapour rather than gas or gamma radiation to preserve foodstuffs. But scientists at the Federal Meat Research Establishment, Kulmbach, where this technique was developed, are sceptical.

They say it isn't ready for commercial use yet. Further research must first be carried out. Professor Pfeilsticker would prefer to see conventional heat sterilisation techniques improved.

Gamma radiation is not a feasible alternative in his view. "Even in Holland, where radiation is permitted, it isn't much used. People don't want to buy radiation-bombarded vegetables."

That is an undisputable problem. Consumers continue to disapprove of the idea; they would sooner continue to eat radishes sprayed with chemicals.

This attitude, Frau Langguth says, is based on ignorance. "Consumers think they are eating untreated food merely because it isn't marked as treated."

But she isn't in favour of making it mandatory to identify treated foodstuffs as such. Manufacturers are afraid sales would plummet if products had to be marked with details of sterilisation techniques such as gassing or radioactive bombardment.

This seems likely to prove the crux of the matter. The Bonn Health Ministry is determined to make specification of such details compulsory, while industry is no less determined in its opposition to the idea.

"It's only a matter of sterilising spices," Frau Langguth says, "and they make up only a fraction of what we eat in the course of a day."

But it is most unlikely to be a matter of only that, of course. An expensive sterilisation plant is only going to run at a profit when it can operate round the clock all year.

In the long term it will take more than peppercorns to keep it busy, which is why manufacturers are keen to send other produce, such as chickens or potatoes, along the conveyor belt.

Manufacturers will probably be forced to come to terms with marking produce, and it should be up to consumers to decide for themselves which sterilisation procedure they prefer, be it heat, gas or gamma radiation treatment.

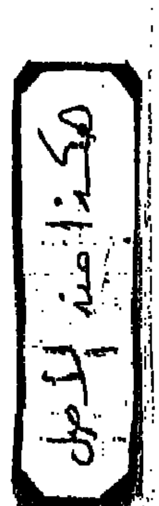
Curl Graf Hohenthal

(Die Zeit, 4 May 1984)



Fresh mushrooms ... do they need bombarding? (Photo: BT)





■ HEALTH

Therapists take a closer look at the ego in an increasingly complex world

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Lindau's psychotherapy week, held this year from 24 April until 5 May covered the themes "The Concept of Self" and "Forms of Symbiosis and Ways to Autonomy".

The conference is held for the benefit of doctors and psychologists.

Behind all the big words that could confuse a layman there are hidden recipes and suggestions on the causes and treatment possibilities for the psychic ills that increasingly beset us today.

This increase, that means more and more qualified psychotherapists are needed all the time, has a ubiquitous background.

The problem of our times is to learn how to come to terms with our world as it gets increasingly more and more complicated.

The variety of points up for discussion at the conference showed how various are the psychiatric ills of our times and how various are the therapeutic answers available to doctors to aid those who are mentally ill.

Approximately 2,400 doctors, psychologists and social workers from home and abroad took part in the conference. The giant programme was drawn up by 142 helpers and included 11 lectures, a discussion, eight daily lectures over the two weeks of the conference as well as 142 seminars, courses and demonstrations.

Some of the highlights of the programme were the fear of death and what effect the fear of death had on life.

The conference also investigated the preparedness of patients to accept a doctor's advice and to act on that advice. Do the reasons why this advice is not taken always rest with the patient? Or could it be that the doctor does not have enough sensitivity? Is the doctor so objective that he cannot feel for his patients? What happens, it was asked, when expected "compliance" was unsuccessful?

It would be useful for a general practitioner to take a refresher course in psychotherapeutic treatment, for the GP is often the first to have to deal with a mentally disturbed person. It is quite often the case that the GP is called upon to make the first diagnosis and suggest an eventual course of treatment.

That should not be too difficult for him since he is au fait with the patient's psychosocial background and would be as well informed of the patient's problems as his or her GP.

It would be of advantage to the doctor to realise that he is in a strategically favourable position in dealing with his patient and that he learned how to make the best of that position.

In Lindau there was a Balint group opportunity. This group therapy is regarded as one of the best means of coming to grips with practical psychotherapy.

This therapy gives a doctor a glimpse into the psychological problems of his patient that produces physical illnesses, so that the doctor gets an insight into his patient's problems and the interaction of the psychological with the physical.

The mental and physical aspects of a person are the main concerns in Gestalt therapy. It was demonstrated how the loss of this totality can bring about upsets.

Patients who have lost their ego, their physical sense and contact with the world around them can regain their balance with sensitive treatment and can again bring their lives under control and again accept responsibility.

An interesting lecture was given on the theme "Marriage — obsolete tradition or the last hope?" The discussion concentrated on the problems of two people living together in the present times. In the future will marriage be concluded with a contract that has a time limitation attached to it?

There was much discussion for and against marriage with proposals of alternative forms of marriage to the present tradition. It was obvious that the question was of contemporary interest when it was noted how many variations there are of the way men and women live together.

Couples live together "separated" so as to save financially. Then there are married couples that have other relationships outside the marriage that are accepted.

The variations involved those who were happy or unhappy with their relationship, married or unmarried or doubtful about a long-lasting relationship. All in all the answers given were far from the expected.

In a seminar on hypnosis the basics of scientific hypnosis were described along with its therapeutic uses — as well as the misuse of hypnosis. It has not been unknown for inexperienced practioners to cause considerable psychic damage. Hypnosis can also reveal criminal failings.

The event dealing with autogenic training and dream analysis was well attended, but above all, as last year, the seminar on psychosomatic medicine.

Psychosomatic disturbances are physical illnesses that have their origins in a psychological problem.

Mental conflicts, stress, pressure of emotion and the like can cause ulcers, constipation, high blood pressure, allergies and other somatic difficulties.

Many doctors take the view that heart attacks and cancer can be caused by psychic disturbances.

These disturbances can be diagnosed by a psychosomatic expert, of which until now little has been heard.

They are to be found in major clinics where in certain cases they endeavour to find the causes of physical ills in mental disturbances, which is a lever enabling them to get to places that the internist or surgeon cannot get.

At the Lindau conference there was considerable discussion about the question whether today doctors prescribed far too many psychological drugs. There was, in fact, heard here and there the question of whether these drugs had any value.

The success quota of long-term analysis was also questioned by insiders.

An investigation by Sloane showed that there was little difference between neurotic patients who were subjected to psychoanalysis therapy and those who were on the waiting list.

On the periphery of Lindau there was a considerable amount of incomprehensible jargon that made little or no sense to the ordinary participant

An example of this was the lecture given by Professor Wolfgang Mertens of Munich who tried to define the psychoanalytical development of the terms "self" and "ego".

In view of the high costs of psychotherapeutic medicine it is a justifiable question to ask if the results are worth the expenditure.

Theo Löbsack

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 May 1984)

Cancer patient given cyanide — euthanasia controversy

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The stir caused by the death of a 69-year-old female patient suffering from cancer at a Chiemsee clinic under the care of Professor Julius Hackethal has re-opened discussion on euthanasia and the right to life and death.

The doctor administered to the woman, who had advanced cancer, cyanide given to her by her relatives in a glass of water. She died shortly afterwards.

In a public statement the Professor said in his own defence: "I would not hesitate to give poison to a patient who had expressly requested it and after a few weeks for consideration."

He said that he would not do this to a patient who had only been under treatment for a short period, but only after there had been a fair amount of time in treatment.

He added that before such a decision it must be absolutely certain that the case was hopeless.

Professor Hackethal explained that the woman had cancer of the skull and eye sockets. He explained to the woman that he had had no experience with euthanasia. He could only offer her 40 sleeping tablets or poison. She had only asked which was the most certain.

Karsten Vilmar, president of the West German Doctors Association, said that in his view Hackethal's action smacked of show business.

If it was as reported in the press, Herr Vilmar maintained, then it was a case of actively assisting in the death of a person and the medical profession could not tolerate that. He pointed out that actively assisting in a person's death was an offence.

The local medical association also rejected Hackethal's course of treatment. The president of the Hartmannbund (the doctors association), and president of the union of doctors associations, Professor Horst Bourmer, said that the treatment was neither Christian nor medical.

He maintained that doctors were ethically bound to relieve suffering and death but they had no right to assist in the dying process.

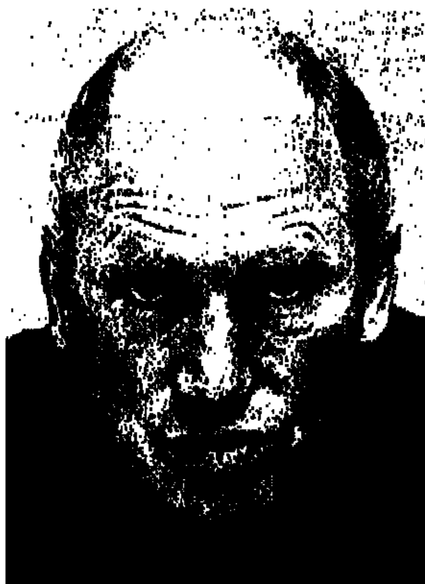
He said that it was an offence to assist a person to death and that euthanasia must remain an offence.

On the other hand passive assistance to death, as in the case of taking a person off a life support machine, was in certain cases a matter of medical decision.

The chairman of the Marburg doctors association, Jörg Hoppe, said that a doctor was duty bound to do everything possible to prolong life. It was not a doctor's task to assist a person to death, he said. The Hartmannbund and the Marburg association stressed that a person had a right to a "dignified death". The doctors' attitude was supported by the Catholic and Protestant churches.

The president of the West German euthanasia society, Henning Atrott, took the view that Hackethal's action had brought to a head the issue of actively assisting a person to death. The Professor was a pioneer in euthanasia.

A person can decide alone if he wants to live or die and that should not offend a doctor's conscience.



Julius Hackethal (Photo: Sven Simon)

Euthanasia has been a topic for discussion for many years, particularly so in Britain, where in September 1980 a booklet was published giving advice on how to commit suicide. The 36-page booklet was published by the Society for the Right to a Dignified Death that organised an international conference on euthanasia in Oxford in 1980

The Society's chairman was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in 1981 for actively assisting in a suicide.

There are a number of euthanasia organisations in France as well as groups that are against the practice.

Two years ago a 39-year-old police officer was acquitted of murdering his wife who had an incurable disease. He shot her in a Versailles hospital. Euthanasia is an offence in France but the public prosecutor sympathised with the man.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 April 1984)

■ MODERN LIVING

Berliners can appeal against Allies, London court rules

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

By a quirk of post-war Allied legislation, still nominally in force in Berlin, housewives in the divided city are almost certainly all criminals.

Possession of a long kitchen knife is not only prohibited. It is an offence for which a death sentence may be imposed, according to a December 1946 Allied military government decree.

Governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen, a lawyer by profession, suggested on a visit to Washington that such provisions ought to be reviewed.

The wartime Allies still exercise ultimate power in all four sectors of the divided city, although the GDR will hear nothing of the fact.

Not so in West Berlin, where the three-power Allied military government still issues letters and orders that override German legislation and municipal bye-laws.

Some have been in force for decades. Others are issued only temporarily, such as orders banning demonstrations for 24 hours in areas where Allied military parades are to be held.

No-one, not even at Schöneberg Rathaus, the city hall, knows for sure how many Allied decrees have been issued since 1945.

"The Allies keep some of them under wraps," an official says. "The early post-war years were an unruly period, and when the city was divided and the supporters of Western democracy left the Red Rathaus in East Berlin they were unable to take all the documents with them."

But the main Allied legal provisions are listed in an 80-page appendix to the Berlin statute book.

Law 43 is one of the best-known, banning the manufacture, import, export, shipment and storage of war material.

The catalogue of items listed in this category includes firearms, knives and even sticks allegedly used by teenage hoodlums to throttle victims.

Death sentences may be imposed for serious breaches of Law 43. Fortunately, the death penalty has not been imposed in the city since 1949.

Decree 511, proclaimed on 15 October 1951, is another item of Allied legislation that could well do with a thorough reappraisal. It lists punishable offences that clash with the interests of the Allied powers.

Prison sentences of up to 10 years can be imposed for offering resistance to Allied forces, for rioting, for unauthorised information gathering and for preventing or delaying shipments between Berlin and other parts of Germany.

Allied ordinances are still issued. When Bonn government legislation is adopted by the Berlin House of Representatives the Allies have been known to override certain provisions.

Proceedings in respect of breaches of Allied regulations are usually dealt with by German courts authorised by the Allies to handle them.

Recent exceptions have included court-martial proceedings against skyjackers. Another reminder of the days when the Allies were occupying powers and not protecting powers is the fact that Berliners can be sentenced in accordance with Allied military legislation but have no right of appeal.

The British, for instance, are setting up a new rifle range in Gatow, and residents are unenthusiastic because of the noise it will cause.

They would normally be able to appeal to a civil administrative court, but the Allied authorities ruled that the civil court was not empowered to handle the appeal.

The plaintiffs thereupon took their case to the High Court in London which ruled, nearly 40 years after the end of the Second World War, that Berliners do have the right of appeal to an independent court.

Liselotte Müller

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 April 1984)

Narcotics: Bonn MPs tour South America

Cocaine consumption has increased by leaps and bounds lately, if police hauls of the drug are any guide, and politicians and security authorities are worried.

In 1979 about 19kg of cocaine was confiscated by customs and police in the Federal Republic of Germany. By 1982 it was 33kg. Last year's haul was 106kg.

These figures are alarming because they cannot be considered more than the tip of an iceberg, and it is a growing iceberg.

Cocaine has become a fashionable drug. Forty per cent of the coke smuggled from South America now fetches high prices in Western Europe.

In Colombia, one of the main cocaine-exporting countries, one kilogram of pure cocaine is said to cost $15,000. By the time it reaches Miami it is worth $25,000.

Elsewhere in the United States it can fetch up to $50,000. In Europe it will sell at anything up to $150,000.

With demand so brisk it is hardly surprising that Bonn Bundestag home affairs committee members on a fact-finding tour of South America were told the consumer countries had only themselves to blame.

Politicians in the producer countries said cocaine was grown by small farmers and marketed by rings of dealers who had little or nothing to do with the drug's popularity in Europe.

The Bonn MPs, including Axel Wernitz of the SPD, Bernd Schmidbauer of the CDU and Burkhard Hirsch of the FDP, found their hosts no longer saw the position in such straightforward, black-and-white terms.

South American countries now realise that the narcotics trade weighs heavily on their own people.

In Peru, with a population of about 18m, there are roughly 50,000 drug addicts. In Bolivia, population 6m, there are said to be 60,000 junkies.

Cocaine consumption is on the increase in Brazil, while an estimated five per cent of the cocaine that is shipped via Ecuador stays in the country.

The narcotics trade corrupts the government. Dealers infiltrate the police. The assassination of Colombian Justice Minister Lara Bonilla may also have been no more than the tip of an iceberg.

His killers are said to have pocketed a $20,000 reward offered by the trade he fought so keenly and successfully.

The acreage of coca plant grown in South America is admitted by the authorities to have increased dramatically: in Peru, for instance, from 4,000 hectares in 1968 to about 30,000 in 1980 and 50,000 this year.

About a third of the output is legal and government-controlled. Coca leaves have traditionally been chewed or brewed as tea by the local people.

Ten per cent is exported and used to manufacture medicine or beverages. A little over half this cocaine legally exported vanishes into shady channels.

Acreage illegally grown is often virtually impossible to check in South America, the police say. They lack the funds needed and have requested financial assistance from governments in Western Europe and North America.

Illegal acreage is often in inaccessible areas and dealers use planes and helicopters to collect and deliver.

Profit margins are so high that farmers are unlikely of their own free will to stop growing coca and grow tea or cocoa instead.

A far from rich Bolivian farmer's earnings would plummet 95 per cent as a result.

Besides, the countries where cocaine is grown lack an infrastructure capable of handling crops and products other than narcotics.

Ecuador, Colombia and Peru, where an estimated one million farmers grow coca, share with Bolivia the distinction of being the main producer countries.

They are fast being joined by Brazil, where dealers are putting the vast and inaccessible expanses of the Amazon basin to "good" use.

The Bonn delegation, which was accompanied by staff of the *Bundeskriminalamt*, or Federal CID, says German officials should be sent to South America to liaise with local police authorities.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 May 1984)



Harald Nägeli, Robin Hood of the spraycan (Photo: ...)

Zurich sprayer sent back to serve prison term

Harald Nägeli, the Zurich sprayer, has been handed over to the Swiss authorities at Lörrach. The 44-year-old graffiti artist passed through a friendly and unperturbed file of German border officials.

Nägeli, a Swiss psychologist, was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment by a Swiss court for defacing walls with 181 of his distinctive and, many say, artistic stick men and women.

His appeal against deportation was dismissed by the German courts. He was handed over to the Swiss to serve his sentence in spite of criticism of the court order by artists and politicians.

One of his keenest supporters throughout his fight to avert deportation was Düsseldorf artist Joseph Beuys, who was at the border to bid Nägeli farewell.

En route from Düsseldorf to Lörrach the sprayer read Ingeborg Bachmann's book *Die Wahrheit ist dem Menschen zumutbar* (People Must Face Up to the Truth).

He wore a light-blue windcheater. In his pocket he had a spraycan bearing the legend: Prison Walls are so Boring.

The man the Swiss were so keen to see behind bars made a shy impression and could easily have been a senior school teacher of, say, Latin or Greek.

He giggled, adjusted his rimless spectacles and obviously wanted to say something.

"When I spray, I spray," he quickly said, nervously touching a TV reporter's jacket.

Were his graffiti to be taken as criticism of the way cities are planned and built nowadays? "Yes," he said.

Nägeli was obviously taken aback by and unused to the crowd of about 100 reporters. He was unable to say another word.

Professor Beuys did the talking for him, while Heidelberg artist Klaus Staeck handed out postcards and Frau Beuys, wearing a Nägeli ear-ring, stuck badges proclaiming Freedom for the Sprayer on the border patrolmen's uniform jackets.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

They thanked her kindly and even asked for autographs.

Hans Nägeli, 75, the sprayer's father, stood aside. He is a prominent Zurich citizen who has not disowned the prodigal son. "He has chosen to take another direction," he said.

Before he left Germany the sprayer was allowed to spray one last graffito on the wall of an old customs shed that is soon to be demolished.

It was a bizarre stick man with a triangular head and a body shaped like a streak of lightning. Beneath it he sprayed the date, then crossed the border.

He disappeared behind the door of the

Continued on page 15

■ OUR WORLD

Women police officers earn equal rights, are taken seriously in the force

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Women police officers must be able to shoot like their male colleagues. They work on murder squads, chase drug pushers, take part in raids on gangster pubs and snap the cuffs on young toughs.

Over the past few years, there has been a radical change in the role of policewomen, but it is a change that has gone relatively unnoticed publicly.

Where the men operate, so do the women: whether as head of Aachen CID, like Ilse Matthes; or as a lecturer at a police staff college like Helen Timpe in Hiltrup, near Münster; or maybe as a specialist in the anti-terror squad of the BKA *(Bundeskriminalamt)*.

They also work as bodyguards. The Bonn security group, whose job is to protect VIPs, uses women, for example. For years the security group had reservations about using women. The work was too hard for them, so the argument ran.

But long term, the emancipation drive of well-trained women detectives could not be resisted. Since the middle of the 1970s, they have been trained the same way as their male colleagues.

So why should they not have the same chances both on operations and for promotion?

Now they go to bodyguard school in Bonn where they are taught karate, how to handle weapons and psychology.

Ten women are at the moment with the security group and are said to have proved themselves. When a woman is to be protected, it is often better to let a woman do the job. They are less conspicuous. They are also more discreet.

But they also guard men, stand hour after hour in front of conference rooms, take part in car escorts, accompany VIP wives to banquets and concerts. They are the Emma Peels of the Federal capital.

The Bonn security group is directly subordinated to the BKA, where the number of women is constantly increasing. For example, the anti-terrorist squad in Wiesbaden now comprises 20 per cent women.

Women are also on the march in local police stations around the country. And no longer are chosen solely for their background in social work.

Since 1976, those who are to go to higher levels go through a three-year course at a specialist college. Prerequisite is Abitur (school leaving examination required for university entrance).

Gerd Steffen, head of the Bonn BKA, says: "As the women began pushing their way in, the men at first had reservations. But today tha is no longer a problem."

Now 178 officers are under Ilse Matthes, head of Aachen CID. The 57-year-old psychology graduate started out in 1950 in the then women's criminal police force (WKP) and today she observes: "The climb up was not always easy."

One 60-year-old woman detective superintendent who has retired after 23 years in the Bonn and Cologne BKA, says that, in retrospect, the WKP was "a women's club the men did not take seriously. That changed abruptly when women began working in all squads and doing the same things as the men."

For seven years she worked in an surveillance group and in a mobile operations unit dealing with, for example, blackmailers and hostage takers. Later she handled breaking-and-entering crimes and joined the vice squad.

She says: "I haven't become insensitive despite all the misery I've seen. Maltreatment of children shocked me the most. Some cases were almost impossible to believe."

Another woman officer, a member of the CID in Bonn, says her worst time was in the drug squad. She learned not to become involved in every situation. Now, when she finishes work for the day, she often doesn't give her work any more thought.

At the moment she handles stolen motor vehicle cases, hunting the illicit dealers. This 36-year-old decided spontaneously to join the criminal police when, as an Abitur graduate in Worms, she visited police headquarters. And she would do the same all over again.

"I like the teamwork here, the camaraderie and the little successes during the course of time." Sometimes she is afraid when she confronts young toughs. When she goes out to investigate, she is always accompanied by a colleague.

Women detectives sometimes run into problems with macho types from the underworld because they are women. Foreigners from countries where women are subjugated often refuse to be questioned by a woman detective. Also pimps and prostitutes sometimes object.

But, said Superintendent Matthes, this is only of periphal importance.

Most women detectives specialise at sme stage. They handle data, collect and use evidence, mount manhunts good visual memory is needed.

There is little monotony in a job that covers the entire spectrum of life. Most women are close to their work and remain in the force despite marriage and children.

And what is their attitude towards weapons and their use? Some worry that they won't be able to pull the trigger in an emergency because of fright. Others don't give the idea much thought at all.

The uniformed branch are also opening doors for women in Lower Saxony, Berlin, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Hamburg. Those accepted spend two and a half years at police school learning police, traffic, State, and administration law, and are trained in karate and weapon handling.

They march, run, shoot and practuce reacting quickly in crises. In Hamburg they are at the moment limited to traffic duties, patrol work and guard functions. In other *Länder*, however, they do everything that the men do.

Sigrid Latka-Jöhring

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 April 1984)

Continued from page 14

Swiss customs shed, leaving behind his work of art on its German counterpart.

"I hope we have no trouble demolishing the old shed now we have a work of art on it," said customs officer Jürgen Spelten.

Nägeli himself claims personal protection as a living work of art. He has painted on his bare chest the Hague Convention symbol classifying himself as a historic monument.

But he is still serving a nine-month jail sentence for damaging concrete walls he claimed merely to be enlivening.

He sees himself as a kind of spraycan Robin Hood and sees the prison term as an act of official vengeance.

Only a week before he was deported to Switzerland another Zurich sprayer was sentenced to a mere 300-franc fine for spraying Freedom for the Sprayer on a wall.

Nägeli is generally acknowledged to be an artist and seen by only a handful of people as a mere mischief-maker.

Vain attempts to persuade the Swiss authorities to waive the deportation application were made by SPD leader Willy Brandt, Swiss writers Max Frisch and Friedrich Dürrenmatt, and even the Bonn Foreign Office.

But the Swiss were not amused and refused to do so even though Nägeli was prepared to pay for the walls to be cleaned.

Jochen Reiss

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 April 1984)

Women MPs in Bonn rap 'Eve-teasers'

Last summer, a member of the Green's parliamentary party was forced to resign his seat. Klaus Hecker was the only Green to head a Bundestag committee, research and technology. He was a recognised authority in his field and skilled in public relations.

But the party decided after a long discussion that Hecker should not represent a party which proclaimed itself as a campaigner against sexual discrimination.

Hecker's offence was to have fondled the breasts of female members of the parliamentary party staff and to have ignored requests to remove his hands.

The women wrote an open letter to members of the parliamentary party and, despite declarations of remorse, Hecker had to go.

The incident triggered off a surge of discussion. Almost every commentator took up the theme and waxed indignant over the impertinence of the MP. But they also found that the party and the women involved had over-reacted.

If a woman did not want a hand to grope, then she should end the episode with a swift cuff and take the matter no further. The implication being that a verbal objection is not enough and that if a woman wants to be taken seriously, she must hit out.

At the time, the ribaldry over the case revealed how customary molesting women is. The attitude was that men should not be punished for such little transgressions and that women must learn to cope with them.

Now Green women MPs in the Bundestag have prepared a document which shows graphically how big the problem of molesting in the workplace is.

Offences range from suggestive remarks, touching breasts, grabbing bottoms, to coercion into having intercourse.

One in every five working women surveyed in the report has been molested at least once at work. That is about 2.3 million if projected as a national figure.

Eight per cent were in some way affected because of the incidents: one per cent were transferred to worse jobs inside the firm; two per cent were sacked; the other five per cent were able to find no way out other than to resign.

Projecting this on to a workforce of about 10.9 million women, it means that about 160,000 lost their jobs following sexual interference, 45,000 have been sacked and 112,000 decided to leave.

The investigation also produced some figures which, although already known, are often used to draw false deductions. Of the women who have been molested, 24 per cent showed no reaction at all, only 10 per cent complained and, as mentioned, five per cent left the firm, and only one per cent took legal action.

There are many reasons given to explain why moe women don't act to protect themselves. Many know or fear that complaining would only cause more problems at work, such as hostility.

But the most quoted reason is that they are convinced nothing will be changed. The common attitude is that theirs is a hopelessly inferior position in a world controlled by men.

The document impressively illustrates the ignorance of the trade unions, the political parties and professional organisations.

A survey of the Bonn parliamentary parties failed because MPs didn't answer, or when they did it was with a lack of understanding about the problem. Others replied that they didn't have enough usable evidence on the subject.

Authorities in the *Länder* which deal with equality issues had heard of cases of molestation but were unable to offer any data.

The authority in Baden-Württemberg which deals with equal opportunities preferred a lighter approach. It suspected that people in the *Land* had their hands full with their traditional industriousness, so there was no possibility of their doing anything else with their hands.

The survey concluded: no one wants to know about the problem.

A list of demands accompanies the report. One is that the problem of sexual molestation be written into anti discrimination legislation; means for far-reaching investigation must be made available; refuges for women must be given enough money so they can offer advice and support.

Women would be advised to ask local authorities to approach offenders and demand that they stop offending.

Above all, women should not keep silent. They should bring the problem into the open.

Ada Brandes

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 6 May 1984)